Volume XLIII] *July, 1938* [*Number 4*

The American Historical Review

WILLIAM HUSKISSON AS PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE

THE life of William Huskisson is yet to be written. His speeches were published in 1831 in three volumes under the editorship of John Wright, who had known him intimately for years, and were prefaced by a short anonymous biography, written by Edward Leeves, his private secretary.[1] These volumes have been for a century the principal source of information regarding Huskisson. In 1928 there appeared a brief volume, *William Huskisson and Liberal Reform*, by Alexander Brady, and in the following year George S. Veitch published a monograph entitled *Huskisson and Liverpool*. The Huskisson Papers have been acquired by the British Museum and are available in its Manuscripts Department.[2] A part of this collection was inadequately edited by Lewis Melville and published in 1931 with the title *The Huskisson Papers*. The records of the board of trade have not hitherto been used by writers on Huskisson, a serious omission in view of the important light they throw not only upon his activities but also upon the economic life of the period. The following article is based principally upon these records and the Huskisson Papers.

When Canning succeeded to the foreign office in 1822, after the king's antipathy towards him had abated, there was some understanding that none of his friends should come in. The government needed strengthening, however, especially along economic and financial lines, where Huskisson's greatest strength lay.[3] Political acumen, therefore, as

[1] *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1911-1915*, p. 230. This preface was privately printed as *A Biographical Memoir of the Rt. Hon. W. Huskisson* (London, 1831).

[2] Additional Manuscripts, 38734-38770; 39948-39949 (supplement).

[3] As early as June, 1821, Canning was urging upon Lord Liverpool the claims of Huskisson for consideration in the coming cabinet changes, particularly in view of the latter's "masterly" handling of government measures in parliament. Canning stated that it would be hardly possible for him to come into the government by one door while Huskisson was going out by the other. Liverpool Papers, Add. MSS., 38568, f. 82.

well as loyalty to old friendship, urged Canning to find a position for Huskisson, whom he considered the "best practical man of business in England".[4] As early as 1809, and again in 1810 and 1812, there had been talk of Huskisson's appointment to the chancellorship of the exchequer, a post for which his talents particularly fitted him.[5] The ten years that followed gave him experience and reputation, until Canning himself said that his appointment to this position was "perhaps the expectation . . . of a large part of the public".[6] It was Nicholas Vansittart who prevented the carrying out of this plan. Still holding the office of chancellor, he refused to make way for Huskisson, though he did finally consent to accept a peerage and be succeeded by Frederick John Robinson. As the latter had been for five years president of the board of trade, the post thus vacated by him was offered to Huskisson. He hesitated to accept, however, except on condition that he have a seat in the cabinet, for he felt that public interest demanded that the president of the board of trade have this recognition and the practical advantages implied.[7] The king's reluctance to recognize a friend of Canning and Huskisson's insistence upon his point created a temporary impasse, until Liverpool persuaded the king to make concessions that enabled Canning to plead with Huskisson to accept office on condition that he be admitted to the cabinet within the year.[8] The order for his appointment was issued on February 21, and he took over his duties at the board of trade on March 3, 1823.[9] There he served until Canning's death in August, 1827, when he became secretary of state for the colonies and leader of the house of commons.

Prior to his appointment to the presidency of the board of trade Huskisson had been in public life for many years. Before this, as a boy of thirteen, he had gone to live with an uncle in Paris and while there profited much from contact with the men and movements of the early

[4] See *Cambridge Modern History*, XI, 583, where Temperley appraises Huskisson as the greatest practical financier of his age.

[5] Thomas Grenville to Lord Grenville, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue*, IX, 438-39, X, 20, 52, 255.

[6] Add. MSS., 38744, ff. 26-27.

[7] For instance, Huskisson wrote to Canning, Oct. 25, 1822, of his unwillingness to take the board of trade position without being in the cabinet, since subjects of the greatest moment involved constant contact of the board with the feelings and interests agitating the country, in the handling of which the board should have the confidence of the government. Add. MSS., 38743, ff. 254-58.

[8] A number of letters or copies of letters on ministerial changes are contained in Add. MSS., 38743-5, and in the Liverpool Papers, *ibid.*, 38190, especially ff. 60, 81-83, and 38297, ff. 209-10, 251. For contemporary comment see *Public and Private Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon* (London, 1844), II, 468.

[9] Board of Trade Minutes, 5/31, ff. 188, 235 (Public Record Office, London).

revolutionary period and was an especially interested witness of the financial disorders and experiments of the time. His first ideas on public finance were expressed in a paper read before the Club of 1789 against the establishment of paper currency.[10] After his return from France he held a minor government position that brought him to the notice of Henry Dundas, who made him under secretary of state for war and the colonies in 1795 and secretary of the treasury in 1804.[11] He was again secretary of the treasury in 1807, was agent for Ceylon for over twenty years, and was commissioner for woods and forests from 1814 to 1823.[12]

His parliamentary career began as representative for Morpeth in 1796. In 1812 he was elected from Chichester,[13] where his constituents gave him up with the greatest regret when he succeeded Canning at Liverpool in 1823.[14] The prestige of ably representing this very important commercial center was naturally of distinct advantage to him. In parliament he had been early recognized as an authority on finance and trade. In 1810 he was one of the authors of the well-known *Report of the Bullion Committee* and wrote a pamphlet in answer to its critics.[15] He was a member of the committees appointed in 1813 and in 1821 to consider the corn laws, drew up the report of the latter, and took a

[10] Huskisson had been private secretary, 1790-92, to Lord Gower, ambassador to France. Many years later the latter, then Marquis of Stafford, sent him a warm letter of congratulation upon the success of his speech on the silk question, Feb. 24, 1826. "To have, by just reason and eloquence, influenced the votes of Members of Parliament has fallen to the lot of few orators and you must have great inward satisfaction in tracing your progress from the period of your first display at the 'Club de 89' to the present moment." Add MSS., 38747, ff. 198-99. Also, *The Speeches of the Right Honourable William Huskisson* (London, 1831), I, 17. A biographical note by Lady Sutherland, included in the Huskisson Papers, gives a delightful account of Huskisson's connection with Lord Gower and his family. Add. MSS., 38758, ff. 245-49.

[11] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Fortescue MSS.*, Vols. IV, V, and VI contain a number of letters from Dundas that refer to activities of Huskisson as under secretary for war and the colonies. These indicate a valuable training in foreign and colonial affairs.

[12] In tendering his resignation of the agency, Huskisson wrote to Lord Liverpool, Nov. 20, 1823: "It was given to me more than 20 years ago, as a mark of approbation of my services, while Under Secretary of State." Add. MSS., 38745, ff. 111-12.

[13] *Ibid.*, 39948, ff. 28, 32, 67, 69, 80-82. After the death of Huskisson a monument to his memory was erected in Chichester Cathedral by popular subscription, which records "the zeal and intelligence displayed by him in advancing the commercial prosperity of the Empire".

[14] *Ibid.*, 38744, contains letters regarding Huskisson's succession to Canning at Liverpool, some of which have been used by Veitch. One from J. Backhouse to Mrs. Huskisson, Feb. 15, 1823, says that Huskisson has just been elected member for Liverpool "with a more universal consent of parties, than ever attended an election from this Borough".

[15] *The Question concerning the Depreciation of our Currency stated and examined* (London, 1810). This went through six editions in 1810 and a seventh in 1811.

prominent part in the debates that followed. One of the most powerful speeches he ever made was in 1822, in favor of a return to cash payments. Thus his career had given him the reputation of being a sound man of business with unusual knowledge of conditions and a constructive grasp of detail. Meanwhile his political life had been, and was still largely to be, determined by his friendships. He was in no sense a political leader, though a stanch supporter where he recognized political affiliations. Pitt was his guiding star in the earlier years, while Canning was his close friend and ally till the latter's death. Both Huskisson and Canning found their careers as statesmen more difficult because they lacked the prestige of wealth and family connections. George IV could be more easily induced to accept Canning as a cabinet minister than as a dinner guest, while some of the most unpleasant criticisms of Huskisson came from those who looked upon him as a parvenu.

The board of trade, to the presidency of which Huskisson was appointed in 1823, had been organized by William Pitt as a committee of the privy council by an order in council, dated August 23, 1786.[16] This, it is interesting to recall, has never been revoked, though the committee has come to be an extensive department of government. Primarily an advisory body, the board had from the first performed certain administrative duties. In marked distinction from its predecessor, the old board, it had a strong secretariat. This had grown to twenty-six by 1827, the year Huskisson went out of office, and to sixty-six by 1853, when the minute book ceased to be kept. The secretaries and clerks were well organized and as a rule continued long in office.[17]

The issue of licenses during the Napoleonic wars had thrown considerable additional labor upon the board.[18] Its work continued to increase, however, with the coming of peace, and its usefulness became more evident year by year. A part of this grew out of its relations with the public, since the committee felt it "to be their duty at all times to receive with attention the Representations of Individuals, as well as of Bodies of Men, who may be affected, or may be apprehensive of being

[16] For the establishment of this new board of trade see Anna Lane Lingelbach, "The Inception of the British Board of Trade", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX, 701 ff.

[17] Soon after Huskisson became president, the law clerk, John Reeves, retired, having served the board for more than thirty-six years. Three of the senior clerks had then been in service for thirty-seven years. George Chalmers, who died while still chief clerk in 1825, had been with the board since its organization in 1786. Previous to his appointment he had received £200 per year as an American Loyalist, and his salary had been augmented by the colonial agency for the Bahamas. B. T. 5/23, f. 508; 5/29, ff. 266, 301; 5/32, f. 124; 5/34, f. 67.

[18] B. T. 5/25, ff. 83-84; see also previous minutes.

affected by any particular measure".[19] It was gradually strengthened also as a department of government, especially as a channel whereby important measures were submitted to the house of commons. While the newer title, board of trade, was usually employed, that of "The Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade" continued to be used occasionally by Huskisson and his secretaries.

In the earlier years, attendance of the meetings by the members of the board was far from perfunctory. During the Napoleonic wars conditions changed until the president or the vice-president was frequently the only member present for the transaction of business. Huskisson had as vice-president Charles Grant, who usually met with him, while special problems brought the attendance of the solicitor general, the secretary of state for the colonies, or other officials. Thus the responsibility vested in the president, who at the same time had the assistance of an efficient and experienced establishment, gave a strong man unusual opportunities for leadership.

Always mindful of the importance of his department, Huskisson never lost sight of the dignity of his position. He also showed an integrity in public life that was rare in those days. An instance of this was his resignation from the colonial agency of Ceylon, though the salary of £1200 was far more than he could conveniently spare, because he considered that some of its duties might appear incompatible with the far higher ones of the board of trade. His moderation, as well as his courage, was frequently exercised. In this respect his policy was well put in 1825: "It became us, therefore, to watch the issue of each experiment, and not to attempt too much at once, until we had felt our way, and until the public were prepared to accompany us in our further progress . . . hitherto . . . the fears and forebodings of the particular interests by which we were opposed [have] proved to be visionary and unfounded".[20]

The records of the board bear proof of the faithfulness and earnestness with which Huskisson applied himself to his duties as its head. They also indicate the use that he made of the machinery at his disposal, the efficient personnel of secretaries and clerks, the well-established contacts with other departments, and the influential standing of the board with the industrial, commercial, and even the agricultural interests of the country.[21] The government recognized its usefulness while business-

[19] B. T. 5/30, f. 268. [20] *Speeches*, II, 328.

[21] With the president and vice-president and the chancellor of the exchequer present, letters were read and a deputation of merchants heard. "After some discussion Their Lordships were pleased to inform the gentlemen present that under the circumstances stated by them, Their Lordships would recommend that no alteration in the duty on Foreign yarn

men made it a clearinghouse for their problems. The many important measures which he brought forward on behalf of the government, as president of the board of trade, were based largely upon facts obtained and contacts made through his office. His great speeches in support of these and the less known, though no less important, negotiations carried on with foreign powers in conjunction with Canning all show the solid foundation of information received through the board.

The frequency of the attendance of Huskisson at the board of trade is evidence of the seriousness with which he handled its affairs. A few months after he had taken office he arranged for a private secretary because, in consequence of "the great increase in public business and of the numerous applications and papers addressed to him privately on points connected with the official and parliamentary business of this Department", it was "indispensably necessary that he should have the assistance of a private secretary to attend him daily either at his own residence or at his office".[22] Again, in 1825, Huskisson wrote of the "great increase which has taken place in business transacted in this department and the additional labor and responsibility involved". In 1826 he said in the commons that "no individual, he believed, who had filled his situation had ever been engaged in a more extensive correspondence than himself or had received more numerous deputations, or had been a party at more conferences than he had met at the Board of Trade" since the changes in customs duties had been proposed.[23] Early in 1827, in a letter to Stapleton, he mentioned the "innumerable communications" which he had received regarding the corn laws. Though ill at the time, he read most of them but found, not unnaturally, that they had "only served to perplex" him.[24]

The multitude of petty details constantly considered must have been even more trying than the problems involved in larger questions. One day's business in 1824 illustrates this, though somewhat more than usual was under consideration: a petition for the admission of a quantity of India rubber from Trieste; memorials from the custom house regarding the collection of light duties; a memorial praying permission to send blocks and plates to Bengal for the purpose of printing silks; an opinion

should be proposed to Parliament during the present session." B. T. 5/31, f. 331. One and a half folios of index on herring and the herring fishery furnish another illustration of collaboration in lawmaking. B. T. 5/32. See also B. T. 5/34, ff. 405-6, 413-14, for information and advice sought regarding the Merchant Seaman's Bill in 1826.

[22] B. T. 5/31, ff. 227, 337. Edward Leeves, a junior clerk on the establishment, was appointed private secretary to the president on July 3, 1823.

[23] *Speeches*, II, 427. [24] Add. MSS., 38749, ff. 78-79.

from Canning that consuls ought to be furnished with recent acts relating to trade and navigation; a note from the American minister regarding the appointment of consuls to the West Indian and North American possessions; a letter from the governor of Trinidad regarding duty on American vessels and cargoes; the question of increasing or decreasing duties on bottles, sulphate of quinine, oils (penny royal, lavender, and peppermint), ivory, etc.; a query as to whether bacon and ham are pork; and the matter of rewarding Dr. MacLean for his researches on plague.[25]

In the 1820's, as in our own day, England was trying to recover from a great war and at the same time adjust herself to fundamentally changing conditions. The increased agricultural production and the monetary problems that had developed during the long struggle with Napoleon had left an aftermath of agrarian distress and disturbed currency. Burdensome taxation, heavy poor rates, lowered rents, and decreased wages added to the depression. The rapid industrialization of the country demanded more extensive markets, while industry and trade were still shackled by the multitudinous restrictions of the navigation acts and of the mercantile system that had fostered them. At the same time newer nations, as well as some of the older ones, were interpreting a growing sense of nationalism in terms of commercial rights. Changes in economic thought were taking place, but so long as these were worked out through the slower processes of legislation, instead of through a more violent overturn of the old by the new, progress was severely hampered by the conservatism of the vested interests so strongly entrenched in the government.

Cobden asserted in 1839 that Huskisson's legislation meant a commercial revolution more important and more far-reaching in consequences than many better-known political revolutions.[26] The fact that the great changes involved were not entirely initiated and were far from

[25] A project came before the board for the establishment of a regius professorship of political economy at the University of Edinburgh, as one had been "very recently established at Oxford", and this was "a science, the magnitude and importance of which require the undivided attention of a separate Professor". The proposal was supported by the professors of agriculture and of natural philosophy and by citizens, headed by the Earl of Mar, who were ready to endow the professorship with an annual salary of £100. It was opposed, however, by the professor of moral philosophy as "incompatible with a just regard for his rights" and the fact that he had been preparing a course of lectures on the subject which he intended to deliver "the session after next". Huskisson was evidently unwilling to give the project the support of the government. B. T. 5/32, f. 151. Add MSS., 38746, ff. 201-2, 219-22, 236-39.

[26] John Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden* (London, 1881), I, 162-63.

completed by him does not make his work less vital. His outstanding accomplishments as president of the board of trade were to help bring order out of the chaos of laws that were stifling trade, commerce, and even industry; to encourage shipping but at the same time free it from prohibitions; to introduce some of the spirit of laissez faire in the use of labor and machinery; to free raw materials and then provide wider markets with less protection for manufactured goods; and to establish reciprocity with other nations.[27] Toward the colonies he showed, in place of the old attitude of tutelage, one of co-operation that was to be the foundation of British colonial policy in the next century. In finance he figured largely, and for solving the difficult corn problem he had plans for which he has not been given sufficient credit.[28]

The first bill which Huskisson sponsored after taking office was one in which he had not yet had opportunity to use the facilities of the board as he did later. In the Merchant Vessels Apprenticeship Bill, which he moved on March 13, 1823, he attempted to simplify previous laws, apply more progressive ideas, and yet not go too far.[29] Ricardo objected on principle, but the measure had the hearty approval of the shipping interests and soon passed.

In the following May he proposed to remove the restrictions on the Scotch linen manufactures. An act with forty sections, passed in the time of George I, regulated not only the length of the cloth manufactured but even the width, which had to contain so many threads and no more.

[27] It has been generally taken for granted that Huskisson himself carried out the important revision of the customs laws, completed in 1825. Leeves was doubtless the principal source for this; see *Biographical Memoir*, p. 106. He says, however, that the work "could never have been achieved but for the able assistance and unwearied diligence of Mr. J. D. Hume, then of the Customs, now of the Board of Trade". While the work was done under the auspices of the board of trade and the customs, Hume was definitely assigned to the task and carried it through. Huskisson himself gave Hume the credit in terms of the highest praise. *Speeches*, II, 486-87.

[28] In addition to his correspondence and speeches on the food problems of the day there is his pamphlet, *A Letter on the Corn Laws* (London, 1826). The office of receiver of the corn returns had been placed under the direction of the board of trade by the Act of 1 and 2 Geo. IV c.87 and was housed in the new building erected early in Huskisson's administration for the offices of the establishment. A minute of June 20, 1825, said that the board had decided to send Mr. Jacobs, the receiver of corn returns, to the Continent for the purpose of procuring on the spot all the necessary details regarding the production and trade of corn in those parts of Europe from which the principal exports of grain were made. This was in order that "ample and authentic information" might be obtained for use in parliamentary discussions on the corn laws. Mr. Jacobs made an intensive study of conditions in central and eastern Europe, following instructions that show the meticulous care used by Huskisson in gathering data. B. T. 5/33, ff. 454-55, 461-63. B. T. 5/33 has five full folios of index on corn. [29] *Commons Journal*, LXXVIII, 117, March, 1823.

Many later statutes, as well as the necessity of stamping, added to what Huskisson called the "absurdity of such interference" with trade. At the board careful consideration was given to the linen trade in general as well as to the petitions for and against the bill. When it passed, Huskisson, with his usual fairness, made provision for compensating the stamp masters, yarn inspectors, and others whose offices were abolished.[30]

In another measure, brought forward about the same time, apparently on his own initiative, Huskisson encountered the halfhearted or even hostile attitude on the part of his more conservative colleagues that made rapid progress in reform so difficult for him. This concerned the silk industry, which had been especially pampered by government. In 1823 proposals were submitted to the board of trade, one asking for partial and the other for total repeal of the Spitalfields acts, which provided that magistrates should fix wages in disputes between employers and weavers in that famous silk center. Huskisson approved the principle of freeing industry from interference but questioned the wisdom of the initiative's coming from the board of trade at that time. Upon his invitation a cabinet meeting was held at the board of trade, and total repeal agreed upon. Yet when Huskisson introduced the bill as a government measure it was passed in the house of commons only through the help of the opposition. In the house of lords the amendments were such that he dropped the bill until the following year, though he remonstrated with the prime minister for the failure of the government to stand by the undertaking adequately.[31]

The reform of the navigation and commercial laws had been begun by Robinson, supported by Huskisson, when the former was president of the board of trade. It was in the first year of his own presidency, in June, 1823, that Huskisson formulated the policy with which his name is particularly associated. The Reciprocities Duties Act broke the backbone of the old navigation system by imposing duties and drawbacks

[30] 4 Geo. IV c. 40. B. T. 5/31, ff. 208-9, 269-70, 289-94, 343; 3/17, ff. 332-33.

[31] Huskisson to Liverpool, June 19, 1823, Add. MSS., 38744, ff. 229-31. In this he reminds the premier that an agreement regarding the bill had been reached at the meeting of ministers held at the board of trade. On March 25, 1825, Huskisson said: "Within my own time, regulating Acts, dealing with every minute process of the manufacture, have been repealed by the score; as have also heaps of other laws . . . prescribing the method of clipping wool, its package, the time to be allowed and the forms to be observed, in removing it from one place to another—laws, the violation of which in some instances, amounted to felony, but which now no longer disgrace the Statute-book. Fortunately for the cotton manufacture it was never favored with this species of protection, so abundantly lavished upon woollen, and which was only withdrawn last year from silk by the repeal of the Spitalfields Acts." *Speeches*, II, 331-32.

upon all goods alike, whether carried in British or foreign vessels. In a minute of over twenty folio pages, sent to Canning soon after the measure passed, Huskisson reviewed the treatment of British vessels and goods by various foreign countries.[32] Nowhere else is his attitude toward the problem so succinctly stated as in another board of trade paper, a long minute, several months later. In this he says:

> The real question, therefore, is whether it consists with the public interest of this country to uphold our present system with the certainty of its being retaliated upon us in other countries. If discriminatory duties, drawbacks and allowances, just sufficient to counteract our own are enforced by a foreign country . . . it is clear that the advantage now enjoyed by the British shipowner will cease . . . if the foreign country put the principle further than we have done it, the British shipowner is placed under a positive disadvantage. This is what the United Netherlands have done—What Prussia threatens, what the United States did, and what every other Power is preparing to do . . . The United States of America were the first to retaliate upon us our protecting system and the result was, concession on our part to our most formidable rival. . . . The question is of great magnitude and requires to be immediately decided . . . reciprocity of one kind or another we cannot avoid—Shall it be the trading on equal terms or a conflict of prohibition? The opinion of this Committee is clearly for the former.[33]

The act provided that the king in council had power to extend the new regulations to all countries willing to grant reciprocal terms or, on the other hand, to maintain existing restrictions with those declining to reciprocate. Since the actual task of administering the law fell to Huskisson, its passage was only the beginning of his work. Technically Canning was the channel of communication with foreign governments. Actually it was Huskisson who advised Canning, interpreted the law, made decisions, in most cases at least, and handled the machinery involved.[34]

The minutes of the board contain many references to the commercial conventions concluded,[35] or to long drawn out negotiations when Huskisson and Canning were joint plenipotentiaries, as in the case of the Netherlands, which persisted in discriminations.[36] A minute of 1826 contains an extensive summary of British policy as it had developed by that time.[37]

[32] B. T. 5/31, ff. 381-405. [33] B. T. 5/32, ff. 97-107.

[34] B. T. 3/19, ff. 140-64. B. T. 5/31, ff. 238-42, gives suggestions to the foreign office regarding revision of the commercial treaty of 1810 with Portugal; B. T. 5/34, ff. 278-89, criticism of the treaty of commerce with Brazil.

[35] B. T. 5/32, ff. 319-20, 343, etc.; 5/33, ff. 14, 22-23, etc.

[36] B. T. 5/32, ff. 419; 5/33, f. 27, etc.; 3/18, ff. 247-49.

[37] B. T. 5/34, ff. 301-16.

Professor John H. Latané in his *History of American Foreign Policy* says that the insistence of John Quincy Adams upon American vessels being admitted to British colonial ports on the same terms as vessels from Canada and other ports of the British Empire prevented Canning and Rush from reaching an agreement in 1824. In reality Huskisson and Stratford Canning were the British plenipotentiaries, and the twenty-six conferences, from January 23 to July 28, were held at the board of trade.[38] Several papers with lists of points to be discussed are in Huskisson's handwriting. There was no difficulty in reaching an agreement regarding the suppression of the slave trade. The American claim of right to the free navigation of the St. Lawrence from its source to the sea surprised the British plenipotentiaries, however, and elicited a denial "in explicit terms". When Rush stated that he was instructed to insist that no part of the American continent was henceforward to be open to colonization, he met with an "utter denial" of this "extraordinary principle" of the six months old Monroe Doctrine. The unoccupied parts of America, according to Huskisson and his colleague, were "just as much open as heretofore to colonization by Great Britain as well as by other Powers", and "the U. S. would have no right to take umbrage at the establishment of new colonies from Europe in any such parts of the American continent".[39] Before Mr. Rush left England he obtained a remission of tonnage duty upon American steam vessels carrying passengers and baggage only to British colonial ports in the West Indies and in North America. Huskisson later, with Addington, carried on the negotiations with Gallatin.[40]

The colonial policy of Huskisson was naturally closely bound up with his commercial theories.[41] His great speech of March 24, 1825, followed the lines of a minute prepared for the cabinet a year before.[42]

[38] Foreign Office 5/191 and 192 contain reports of the conferences written from the board of trade and signed by Huskisson and Stratford Canning as well as the protocols signed by them and Rush. The powers of the British plenipotentiaries were "drawn up in more general and comprehensive terms" than those of Mr. Rush, who had full powers only as to commercial relations.

[39] F. O. 5/192.

[40] Draft of instructions to Huskisson and Addington, Nov. 10, 1826, F. O. 5/219. Meanwhile restrictive measures applied to American commerce conformed to the advice given by Huskisson to the foreign, colonial, and treasury departments, July 26, 1826. B. T. 5/35, ff. 165-78.

[41] A drastic attack was made by him in the house of commons, May 12, 1826, upon the British commercial policy that had led to the American Revolution. *Speeches*, III, 8-10.

[42] *Annual Register*, 1825, LXVII, 99-106; also *Speeches*, II, 307-27. In accordance with his proposals free ports were established, through which trade with foreign countries could be conducted, and five warehousing ports were opened.

In fact much of the speech is only an expansion of the earlier paper, in which he asks:

> Is not such a change more or less recommended to us by the changes which have recently occurred and are still going on in the general commercial history of the world? When the system of exclusive commercial intercourse has ceased throughout that immense continent of South America . . . can it be long continued in respect to the British colonies alone? How much longer do we expect that the vast territory of British North America . . . will be contented to live under such a system. . . . In short, you have there a country and not a plantation.[43]

In his clarity of vision regarding the issues at stake Huskisson showed a statesmanship that foreshadowed the later organization of the British Empire.

It is impossible here to do more than touch upon a few of his varied activities during those crowded years. In removing and lowering duties, in abrogating vexatious taxation, and in handling financial problems he continued to work with Robinson, though there seems no doubt that the master mind was that of the president of the board of trade and not that of the chancellor of the exchequer.[44] Anyone sponsoring the lowering of duties at that time was treading upon thin ice. The minutes of the board record the protests of hitherto protected industries that now felt themselves aggrieved. Huskisson's wide knowledge of detail as well as his moderation were especially needed in defense of his policies after the panic of 1825.

A bitter attack was made early in 1826 upon the repeal in the preceding year of the regulations regarding silk manufacture. In seconding a motion in the house of commons that a select committee be appointed to consider the various petitions from those engaged in this manufacture, John Williams, member for Lincoln, stated that "he could not allow the existence of half a million of persons to be used as an experiment in proving the correctness of an abstract theory . . . a perfect metaphysician, as Burke had observed, exceeded the devil in point of malignity, and contempt for the welfare of humanity". Huskisson made a long and very able speech upon the motion on February 24, in which he argued that the real point at issue was that of the restoration of the old restrictive system.[45] For the imputation of Williams he expressed

[43] Minute, Feb. 17, 1827, Add. MSS., 38766, ff. 67-77.

[44] Greville's statement seems fairly true: "Everybody knows that Huskisson is the real author of the finance measures of government". *The Greville Memoirs*, edited by H. Reeve (London, 1875), I, 81.

[45] Lord Broughton wrote that this was "the most masterful speech" he had ever heard. John Cam Hobhouse, Lord Broughton, *Recollections of a Long Life* (London, 1911), III, 111.

utter scorn and quoted an advertisement from a Macclesfield newspaper of February 19, 1825, which indicated that the owners of silk mills were quite willing to exploit children.[46]

The Corn Bill of 1827 was a measure to which Huskisson applied himself zealously and by so doing increased the ill will that the more conservative groups had been showing toward him.[47] His long study of the subject had led him to believe that the time had come when the duties on grain should be lowered. "So long as our manufacturers were protected the agriculturist pleaded his right to the same sort of protection." With the heavier restrictions removed in the one case, it seemed only fair that they should be lessened in the other. Though it might not be possible to adopt "the most perfect system", as he advised Lord Liverpool, one should be sought that would do the "least degree of violence to the feelings of any particular class". Canning gave the project the most enthusiastic support; Liverpool insisted that it must be a government and not a department measure, doubtless because of the unpopularity Huskisson had incurred with the "landed grandees" and the "Old Tory High Flyers", as Creevey called them. Huskisson's health is said to have been permanently impaired by the arduous labors and the anxieties incurred through this bill, which was eventually dropped largely because of the opposition to it by the Duke of Wellington in the house of lords.[48]

Towards the labor problems of his day Huskisson had generally a laissez faire attitude. He favored the freedom of the artisan to emigrate and supported the measure of 1825 that repealed restrictions. As a result of a parliamentary discussion in 1825 regarding the export of tools and machinery an understanding was reached that the laws forbidding the exportation of machinery should not be repealed, but that the board of

[46] "To Overseers, Guardians of the Poor, and Families desirous of settling in Macclesfield. Wanted immediately, from four to five thousand persons . . . from 7 to 20 years of age . . . to be employed in the throwing and manufacturing of silk. The great increase of the trade having caused a great scarcity of workmen, it is suggested, that this is a most favorable opportunity for persons with large families, and Overseers who wish to put out children as apprentices, to ensure them a comfortable livelihood." As Huskisson said, "Humanity is not the least remarkable part of this precious document." *Speeches,* II, 504. See also *Speeches,* III, 77-136, where an answer was made to shipowners whose petitions insisted that the shipping interests were in a state of rapid decay.

[47] Add. MSS., 38748 and 38749 contain correspondence indicating the activity of Huskisson in preparing the bill. A long memorandum by him on the corn laws in 1826 is in the Liverpool Papers, Add. MSS., 38371, ff. 182-217.

[48] Lord Liverpool reminded Canning that Peel and not Huskisson was second in the house of commons. Croker at that time called Huskisson Canning's "alter ego". *Croker Papers* (London, 1887), I, 361, 364.

trade should judge when it might be desirable to relax them.[49] The feeling was so strong on the part of British manufacturers and others whose interests might be affected that discretion had to be carefully limited.[50] Some years later J. D. Hume said in testifying before a select committee: "I can very well remember upon one occasion of a deputation to the Board of Trade when Mr. Huskisson held up one of those small articles of machinery to the gentlemen who attended the meeting and said, 'So gentlemen, then the prosperity of the trade of this country depends upon our preventing this thing from being carried out of it.' "[51]

Huskisson was meticulous in acting at all times with a "consideration of justice as well as of policy". A Jamaica act to "sell for the best price that can be obtained" old and infirm slaves who had been in the domestic service of the governor's residence led him to ask what provision could be made for their "care and maintenance in a suitable case of comfort".[52] Toward the Catholic question he displayed a whimsical yet characteristic caution when in a letter to Canning he urged delay and wrote: "The course of nature assists the question. Every year it sees drop off some prejudiced opponent and gains some ground with the young and rising part of the community."[53]

As a member of parliament for Liverpool Huskisson no more forgot his responsibility to that trading and shipping center than he did to the commercial interests of Great Britain as a whole. With John Gladstone and other merchants of the city he kept up a rather frequent correspondence. Several of his measures fostered the welfare of his constituents, especially the Merchant Factors Act, his support of the Liverpool-Manchester Railroad,[54] at the opening of which in 1830 occurred the accident that occasioned his death, and the act for the improvement of quarantine. The last he believed would benefit British commerce generally. It occupied considerable attention at the board.[55] In defending the proposal to take the burden of quarantine from shipping and make the charges fall upon the public at large, Huskisson said that the board had had no more difficult problem than that of sharing with the customs the decisions as to foul bills of health from the Levant.[56] In the discus-

[49] B. T. 5/35, f. 268.

[50] *Ibid.*, ff. 155, 158, 311, 412; 5/36, f. 98. B. T. 1/96, no. 26, is a long and interesting letter to Huskisson opposing the exportation of machinery.

[51] Report of the select committee appointed to inquire into the export of machinery, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1841, VII, 6. [52] B. T. 3/18, ff. 32-34.

[53] Add. MSS., 38747, f. 80. [54] B. T. 5/23, f. 350.

[55] B. T. 6/268. B. T. 5/33 contains nearly two folios of index upon quarantine.

[56] *Parl. Debates*, new ser., XIII, 603.

sions as to whether the plague is contagious he asserted in characteristic fashion that he would not offer an opinion but proceeded to quote specific cases in Malta and Naples as evidence of contagion.[57]

The parliamentary debates regarding a fitting remuneration for his services afford interesting testimony as to the place Huskisson made for himself. The members of the old board of trade had enjoyed £5000 each for office-holding that had become practically a sinecure by the time parliament abolished the board, after Burke's attack upon it in 1782. When the board was reorganized, no salaries were provided for its officers or members, though the vice-president was given a salary in 1817. Until 1826 Huskisson lived upon his pay of £3000 as treasurer of the navy. The question of a fitting salary arose in the summer of 1825, when Peel said that the president of the board of trade, whose duties were many and arduous, was filling two offices, "in one of which he had little to do but was paid for it; while in the other he was entirely occupied but without remuneration at all".[58] It was not till April, 1826, however, that the chancellor of the exchequer moved a salary of £5000, in view of the fact that the presidency of the board of trade was an office calling for the most arduous labor; so far as he knew there was no other that involved such absolute devotion to duty.[59] Canning insisted upon the proposal as restoring the salary which had been taken away by Burke's bill because the office was then apparently useless. It was now proposed to restore it because the office had become one of the most effective in the state. The old cry of patronage and power was soon raised, however, as a result of which a compromise had to be made. Huskisson continued his residence in Somerset House and retained the two offices, thus receiving £3000 as treasurer of the navy, as before, with £2000 additional as president of the board of trade.[60] Meanwhile the occasion had called forth much eulogistic appraisal of the ability, integrity, and eminent services of Huskisson, and of recognition of what he had accomplished. Even the opposition joined in this. Tierney, so often his opponent in debate, especially insisted that the proposed salary of £5000 be given the president of the board of trade in consideration "of the great ability with which he has filled that office".

Even better evidence of the recognition of Huskisson's work at the board of trade is the fact, mentioned above, that after Canning's death

[57] B. T. 5/311 contains a long minute on Dr. MacLean's investigations of the plague, ff. 250-61.

[58] *Parl. Debates*, new ser., XIII, 1476.

[59] *Ibid.*, XV, 96-97. [60] B. T. 5/35, f. 77.

in August, 1827, he succeeded him as leader of the house of commons. To Canning's friends, indeed, the mantle seemed to have fallen on Huskisson's shoulders.[61]

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Philadelphia.

[61] See J. Bagot, *George Canning and his Friends* (London, 1909), II, 426.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND AMERICAN NEUTRALITY, 1914-1917

THERE are two reasons why the opinions of Theodore Roosevelt on the World War during the period of American neutrality are significant. In the first place, he had tremendous influence with the American people. True, his opinions carried no weight with the leaders of the administration at Washington, but he had once been President, and his large, devoted following throughout the country was evidenced by the showing he had made at the head of a third party ticket in the election of 1912. In the second place, his expressions of opinion to the leading men of the period, particularly in England, enabled him to exert an indirect influence on the molding of American public opinion because of the part this information played in the preparation of Allied propaganda. It is the purpose of this article to trace the development of Roosevelt's opinions on the war and the part that he believed the United States should play in it and, since he was fundamentally a man of action, to call attention to activities of his which resulted from these opinions.

The principal clues to the workings of Roosevelt's mind on the problems of the war are to be found in his public speeches and his letters to personal friends and acquaintances.[1] The letters, particularly in the early stages of the war, are the more valuable in that his views are therein more candidly set forth and also because at this time Roosevelt was making a valiant effort to avoid the public expression of his opinions in order not to embarrass the administration in any steps which it might take.

When the World War broke out, Roosevelt was deep in the throes of the congressional campaign, and it is highly probable that he was giving little attention to the fateful events in Europe. His first public statement regarding the war appeared in the newspapers of August 6, 1914. At this time he did not discuss the responsibilities of the belligerents, but after a brief criticism of the past policies of the

[1] The letters cited are in all cases to be found in the collection of Theodore Roosevelt Papers in the Library of Congress. Letters written by Roosevelt are either letter-book or carbon copies. The present writer wishes to record his indebtedness to the late Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, for permission to make use of this material.

Democrats, he stated that the Progressive party would work with the administration to bring the country safely through the crisis.[2]

Two days later, on August 8, he replied to a letter from Professor Hugo Münsterberg, an active supporter of the German cause in this country, expressing his opinion about the war. In his letter he told Münsterberg that he would not be "mislead [*sic*] into a 'rush against Berlin', as you call it". In his next sentence he admitted that he had not yet made a careful study of the war, for he wrote, "I simply don't know what the facts are and do not feel able to pass a competent judgment upon them." He expressed his sorrow at the outbreak of war, because he had in his own way always striven for peace. The "melancholy" feature about the war, Roosevelt continued, was that the "conflict really was inevitable" and that each belligerent was, from its own viewpoint, in the right. This letter also indicated that Roosevelt's opinion on the invasion of Belgium, an act which later he bitterly condemned, was not yet formed. At this time the invasion of Luxemburg and Belgium was to him merely an episode in the war, not a grievous injustice for which Germany must atone. In fact at this time the invasion furnished little more than an example of the ineffectiveness of international law. The aggressor was difficult to define, Roosevelt intimated, for he wrote:

> All talk of international law is beside the mark, because there is no real homology between international law and internal or municipal law. The technical and the actual assault may be entirely distinct, as in the case of the Boer Republics. The power sending the ultimatum and making the attack may do so merely because it is so obvious that the other side is preparing to strike first. It is the same way about the treaties guaranteeing the neutrality of Luxemburg and Belgium, which seemingly Germany has violated even before actual fighting began. I am not prepared to say that in dire need the statesmen of a nation are not obliged to disregard any treaty, if keeping it may mean the most serious jeopardy to the nation.

The lesson which Roosevelt drew from this invasion was that it illustrated the futility of the administration's bilateral treaties, which would not hamper a serious foe of the United States "for so much as thirty seconds". The ideas expressed in the *New York Times* statement and in the letter to Professor Münsterberg were elaborated in an article in the *Outlook* of August 22, 1914. Belgium and Luxemburg were still "merely" examples to Roosevelt.[3]

It is not unreasonable to believe that Roosevelt soon came to hold opinions on the war that were much more vigorous. On August 31 he wrote to a close friend, giving some clues to his views. In this letter

[2] *New York Times*, Aug. 6, 1914. [3] Pp. 1011-15.

he gave evidence of his impatience with a passive attitude toward the war. He had striven to assume this position to avoid embarrassing the administration and also because he was "well aware that it is possible we shall be brought into trouble with England's ally, Japan, while I need hardly say I am under no illusions as regards Russia". Neither of these nations, however, could give a "more brutal illustration of the theory that 'Might makes Right' and that there is no such thing as morality in international affairs than Germany is now giving. It is pretty hard for me to keep silent about what has gone on in Belgium." Belgium was still an example, but a more lurid example, and one whose lesson it was vital for the United States to learn, for by this time Roosevelt had reached the next stage in the development of his attitude toward the war. Continuing his letter, he expressed the belief that if Germany should be victorious in the war, "it would only be a matter of a very few years before we should have to fight her". This was a prediction which, as the months passed, he often repeated. A complementary prediction which he made on this last day of August was that he "would esteem it quite on the cards to see Germany and Japan cynically forget the past and join together against the United States and any other power that stood in their way".[4] This possibility was only infrequently mentioned by Roosevelt in later months, yet the writer is convinced that the so-called Japanese menace was a very real one in the mind of Theodore Roosevelt.[5] Another conviction, often expressed by him, concluded the letter. This was the pessimistic observation that the administration in power, which ranked very low in his regard, "only too well represents the American people".[6]

During this period Theodore Roosevelt was not permitted to work out unaided his ideas concerning the war. Leaders in both sets of belligerent nations and their supporters in this country recognized the value of securing his sympathy. Mention has already been made of Professor Münsterberg. This prominent Harvard professor was one of the most outspoken of Germany's defenders in America. In addition to his other propagandist efforts, he made a serious attempt to win Roosevelt to a sympathetic view of the German case by writing letters to him, often including some pamphlet or booklet that he had written on the war.[7] Roosevelt, although he soon became a bitter opponent of German

[4] Roosevelt to Stewart Edward White, Aug. 31, 1914.

[5] See Roosevelt to C. F. Davis, June 23, to Benjamin Ide Wheeler, Mar. 1, to White, Mar. 3, 1915.

[6] Roosevelt to White, Aug. 31. [7] Münsterberg to Roosevelt, Aug. 15, 1914.

policy, maintained a friendly personal attitude toward Professor Münsterberg. He appeared eager to hear the German point of view and was even willing to talk confidentially with some of the pro-German leaders in this country.[8] A month or so after the war began, Roosevelt was instrumental in securing the wide distribution in the newspapers of a letter written to him by Baron Ladislaus Hengelmüller, former Austrian ambassador to the United States, stating the case of the Dual Monarchy.[9] Count Apponyi, a Hungarian leader of note, also wrote to Roosevelt and enclosed an article which pleaded the case of Austria-Hungary.[10] Later in 1914 Professor Kuno Meyer of the University of Berlin, who was in the United States, as he informed Roosevelt, "to hear and see what America says and does", sought and obtained an interview with the former President.[11]

The pressure brought to bear on Roosevelt did not come of course from the representatives of the central powers alone. Other personal letters from old friends and acquaintances sought to lay the British case before him. Standing well toward the top of the list of such persons was Rudyard Kipling. The warm letters of these two friends not only give an insight into their thoughts regarding the war but also, when viewed objectively, illustrate the personal approach in propaganda. There was nothing particularly subtle in Kipling's letters. They were the letters of an indignant Englishman exploding, as it were, to his American friend. But these vigorous words may well have appealed to a person of Roosevelt's temperament. Kipling stressed the case of Belgium and in a letter dated September 15, 1914, had this to say of the German invasion:

> Your letters from England will have given you an insight into things as they are here. But I wish you could spend half a day with the Belgian refugees as they come into Folkestone. The look on their faces is enough without having to hear their stories which are like tales from Hell. When people congratulate each other that so and so's womenfolk were shot outright one realizes a bit about German culture. As far as one makes out the rapings &c were (and are) put through as part of a set plan to "strike terror into the world".

[8] Roosevelt to Münsterberg, Nov. 11, 1914. See also Münsterberg to Roosevelt, Dec. 16, 1914.

[9] Roosevelt to Hengelmüller, Nov. 16, 1914.

[10] Roosevelt to Apponyi, Sept. 17, 1914.

[11] Kuno Meyer to Roosevelt, Nov. 26, 1914. Roosevelt later asserted that Meyer had misquoted him in the interview. See Roosevelt to Henry F. Cochems, Jan. 13, 1915. Dr. George Barthelme, of the *Kölnische Zeitung*, also obtained an interview with Roosevelt. See George E. Miller to Roosevelt, Dec. 18, 1914.

Not content with a denunciation of the German policy, Kipling also lashed out at the failure of the United States to make protest. The English were, he wrote, frankly "aghast" at the inaction of the United States, and to his mind it was "almost incredible" that the United States, which had always stood out against such "horrors", should now maintain silence. Then Kipling expressed his belief in a possibility which, it has been noted, had already occurred to Roosevelt, namely, that America would be the next object of attack in case of a German victory over the Allies.[12]

Kipling was not the only Englishman of prominence to write to Roosevelt. Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary, also knew him, and during the years preceding America's entrance into the war several letters were exchanged between the two men. September 10, 1914, Sir Edward wrote a letter to Roosevelt which was a particularly strong propagandist effort. His purpose was to inform Roosevelt that two prominent British writers, J. M. Barrie and A. E. W. Mason, were going to the United States. The object of the two visitors was, Grey wrote, "as I understand, not to give lectures and make speeches, but to meet people, particularly those connected with Universities, and explain the British case as regards this war and our view of the issues involved". In addition the writer gave his opinion of the war and cleverly pleaded the case of British innocence.[13]

Another British friend of Roosevelt was Arthur Lee, a member of parliament, at the outset of the war serving as a lieutenant colonel in the British army and later an assistant of Lloyd George in the ministry of munitions. Lee's letters to Roosevelt amply illustrated the British point of view. Roosevelt's letters to Lee are even more valuable, since Lee appears to have been a real confidant of Roosevelt. Other prominent supporters of the Allies who wrote from time to time to Roosevelt included Gilbert Parker, A. J. Balfour, and John St. Loe Strachey.

We have seen that by the end of August, 1914, Roosevelt was privately expressing the opinion that if Germany should be victorious, it would be only a short time until the United States would be forced to fight her. We have also seen that he was having difficulty in maintaining silence concerning Belgium. This task very shortly proved too much for the vigorous ex-President, and in an article appearing in the issue of the *Outlook* of September 23 he said that the United States

[12] Kipling to Roosevelt, Sept. 15, 1914.

[13] Grey to Roosevelt, Sept. 10, 1914. This letter is quoted in Viscount Grey of Fallodon, *Twenty-Five Years, 1892-1916* (New York, 1925), II, 143-44.

should work for peace, but that peace was "worthless unless it serves the cause of righteousness", and that a "peace which left Belgium's wrongs unredressed and which did not provide against the recurrence of such wrongs as those from which she has suffered would not be a real peace".[14]

During the same period Roosevelt wrote a series of four articles on "What America Should Learn from the War", which were syndicated throughout the newspapers of the land. According to the estimates of the syndicate handling the series, the articles reached some fifteen million persons in the United States, and the first installment, dealing with preparedness, was reported to have increased the circulation of the *New York Times* by several thousand.[15]

Early in October Roosevelt wrote several letters explaining why he had written publicly as he had on the war. One of the persons to whom he wrote was Sir Edward Grey. The former President told Grey that while he had attempted not to be "offensive" to Germany, he had "emphatically backed the position that England, and specifically you, have taken". He explained that, being in opposition to the administration, he was in a difficult position, inasmuch as he could not suggest what should have been done by the United States and thereby criticize the administration. Although he had refrained from making any public expression of what he thought should have been done by the United States, he did not hesitate, however, to inform Grey and others privately of what he would have done if he "had been President". It was his belief that the American people "would have acquiesced in my taking the stand I most assuredly would have taken as the head of a signatory nation of the Hague Treaties in reference to the violation of Belgium's neutrality". But, he continued, he would not have taken this stand if he "had not been prepared to back it up to the end, no matter what course it necessitated; and it would be utterly silly to advocate the Administration taking such a position unless I knew that the Administration would proceed to back up its position".[16]

Meanwhile Roosevelt appeared to be losing sight of his former opinion that the great powers had gone to the aid of Belgium to save themselves and not primarily to protect Belgium. He began to make

[14] Pp. 169-78.

[15] John N. Wheeler, president, The Wheeler Syndicate, Inc., to Roosevelt, Oct. 8, 1914; Guy T. Viskniskki to J. J. McGrath (Roosevelt's secretary), Sept. 17, 1914.

[16] Roosevelt to Grey, Oct. 3, 1914, quoted in Grey, II, 144-45. Similar ideas were expressed in Roosevelt to Spring-Rice, Oct. 3, 1914, quoted in J. B. Bishop, *Theodore Roosevelt and his Time shown in his own Letters* (New York, 1920), II, 372.

statements that because of the wrong done to Belgium, "England could not have done other than she did, in interfering for her".[17] One should keep in mind the fact, Roosevelt was also writing, "that England is right, that Belgium has been most dreadfully wronged, and that her wrongs must be redressed".[18]

Despite his reiterated condemnation of the German policy in Belgium, Roosevelt insisted that he was not anti-German. "I am no anti-German", he wrote in his own hand at the conclusion of a letter to Alfred Noyes, "I am anti-brutality! I should protest as quickly against wrongdoing by England or France or Russia; and more quickly against wrongdoing by the United States."[19]

The ensuing months found Roosevelt increasingly critical of the administration's attitude toward the war. How much of this dissatisfaction was with the policy of the government and how much of it was a personal and political dislike of the leaders of the administration, it is of course difficult to say. It seems quite evident, however, that to Roosevelt it would have been almost impossible for the President or his Secretary of State to do anything correct or statesmanlike.

Another characteristic of Roosevelt's attitude was envy of the Allies, particularly Great Britain, for the part they were playing in the war. As early as November 4, 1914, Roosevelt wrote to Kipling: "I have always explained to my four sons that, if there is any war during their lifetime, I wish them to be in a position to explain to their children, why they did go to it, and not why they did not go to it." In concluding the letter he added: "I hear your son has gone to the war. I heartily congratulate you." By February of the following year Roosevelt was writing to the editor of the London *Spectator:* "My dear fellow, you & those like you are playing heroic parts; I admire and respect you; I bitterly regret that my own people are not at this time rising to the same level."[20]

The inauguration of the policy of unrestricted submarine warfare by Germany naturally added to Roosevelt's growing irritation with the attitude of the American government and strengthened his growing sentiment for war, or at least his growing desire for a vigorous policy on the part of the United States which might well force it into war. By April, 1915, he was of the opinion that the actions of the German submarines had reached such a point that Americans could not be

[17] Roosevelt to Elbert Francis Baldwin (London), Oct. 5, 1914, quoted in Bishop, II, 372. [18] Roosevelt to R. H. Monroe Ferguson, Oct. 5, 1914.

[19] Nov. 28, 1914. [20] Roosevelt to St. Lo [*sic*] Strachey, Feb. 22, 1915.

"excused for failing ourselves to take immediate and vigorous action in response".[21] William Barnes's libel suit took Roosevelt's attention away from foreign affairs at this juncture. When, however, the *Lusitania* was sunk, Roosevelt denounced the act in the press of the day as "piracy on a vaster scale of murder than any old time pirate ever practised",[22] and some weeks later he informed Count Apponyi, the Hungarian leader, that he could not regard the sinking as anything but "cold-blooded murder".[23] The sinking of the *Lusitania* made him "feel that the time had come to speak out",[24] and he began to express publicly the thoughts he had for months been expressing in private correspondence. His letters, meanwhile, became even more pointed in their criticism of the attitude of the United States government. "It is a terrible situation", he wrote to Viscount Bryce, "and I must say I do not enjoy having my country in the Pontius-Pilate-like attitude of neutrality which she still maintains." [25] Thus it is seen that by the summer of 1915 Roosevelt's attitude toward the war was already cast in its mold, although the United States was not to follow his advice and enter the conflict for nearly two years.

The next problem to be considered is the action Roosevelt took as a result of his attitude toward the war, for it was practically inconceivable that such a man as he should have an opinion and not act upon it. In the first place, Roosevelt sought to win the American people to his views on the war. In his relations with sympathizers of the central powers he sought to convince them of the essential Americanism of his stand. In his public utterances he maintained an impersonal attitude toward the Allies, with the exception of Belgium, but in his private correspondence he showed his sympathy with the Allies and even advised them concerning methods for winning American support. He was an indefatigable propagandist and disseminator of his own ideas. Time and time again in his letters, whether they were to Americans, Germans, or Englishmen, is to be found a bold advertisement of some product of his pen dealing with the war.

Roosevelt made efforts to win Americans to his sentiments early in the war, urging at this time a qualified support of the administration. He was always, of course, a strong advocate of military preparedness. Furthermore, convinced as he became shortly after the outbreak

[21] Roosevelt to Joseph H. Choate, Apr. 2, 1915.
[22] *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 8, 1915.
[23] Roosevelt to Apponyi (Eberhard, Austria), June 1, 1915.
[24] Roosevelt to J. H. Patterson, June 1, 1915. [25] May 29, 1915.

of the war that if Germany should be victorious, the United States would ultimately be forced into war, he favored from the start an increase in American armaments. The support that he gave to preparedness in his public addresses and writings is well known and needs no more than a mention at this time. It was evident in his private letters also, for he was continually bringing the matter to the attention of his friends and acquaintances. Witness, for example, the following extract from one of his letters: "It is a great pleasure to hear from you. I would like to discuss our national unpreparedness and also the zoology of mid-Africa and mid-Asia."[26] To another acquaintance he wrote in November, 1914: "I would greatly like to talk to you over starting some kind of propaganda to institute something like the Swiss Military system here in the United States."[27] One of Roosevelt's closest associates in the preparedness movement was Major General Leonard Wood. The correspondence between these two friends ranged from the problem of increasing the army to eliminating pacifist influence upon the Boy Scouts.[28]

Theodore Roosevelt was unable to conceive of the United States at war without planning to take some part in the conflict himself. As early as February, 1915, he was visualizing himself in the fray. "In the event of war", he wrote in a letter at this time, "I should ask permission of Congress to raise a division of Cavalry, that is, nine regiments, such as the regiment I commanded in Cuba." The nucleus of this division was to be drawn from a society of men known as the "American Legion", which was being formed at the time. The members of this organization, in Roosevelt's mind, would form a "first reserve" in case of war.[29] As time went on this idea of a special division under his leadership became a well-defined plan, and Roosevelt even wrote to his old associates throughout the country, offering them places in the proposed regiments.[30]

The reversal of the administration's position on the question of preparedness did not alter the feeling of the former President toward the persons in control of the government, since he believed the change

[26] To W. L. Abbott, Dec. 31, 1914.

[27] To Col. Wm. Carey Sanger, Nov. 23.

[28] For examples see Wood to Roosevelt, Nov. 7, 23, 1914; Roosevelt to Wood, Mar. 3, 1915.

[29] Roosevelt to the American Legion, Feb. 22, 1915. See also Roosevelt to Col. J. H. Patterson, June 1, and to Frederick Oliver, July 23, 1915.

[30] For examples see letters of Roosevelt to John C. Greenway and General Roger D. Williams, June 22, 1915.

had been made purely for political expediency.[31] He expressed the opinion that the real issues would become "preparedness for those who mean business and pseudo-preparedness for lukewarm opportunists, with a phrasemaker at their head".[32]

A corollary to Roosevelt's support of preparedness was his detestation of the so-called pacifists. In his opinion, the "foolish people who applaud a song entitled 'I Didn't Raise my Boy to be a Soldier' are just the people who would also in their hearts applaud a song entitled 'I Didn't Raise my Girl to be a Mother' ".[33] His contempt for the advocates of peace was such that he refused to meet them in debate. On one occasion, in rejecting a proposal to meet a pacifist in a debate on the Pacific Coast, he wrote as follows:

> You might exactly as well propose a joint debate between some leading Black-hander and a Superintendent of the police force as a joint debate between any man who takes the views I take, which are those that every patriotic American should take, and any man who stands for disarmament or for the silly and mischievous peace-at-any-price or modern Copperhead policies of the average pacifist of today.[34]

An exception seems to have been made in the case of Henry Ford, whom Roosevelt tried to win over to preparedness.[35]

Roosevelt's attitude toward preparedness and what he considered to be the duties of the nation conditioned in large part his course of action during the presidential campaign of 1916. It seems fairly clear that although he would have been pleased to be the standard-bearer of the Republican party, he early saw that he would be unacceptable to the leaders of this party because of his attitude toward the war and especially of his strictures against "hyphenated" Americans.[36] The realization that his actions were alienating a large body of the voting population naturally gave some pause to Roosevelt the politician, but, as he wrote in a letter toward the end of 1915, he felt that he was pursuing the proper course.[37] A year later he was expressing his motive

[31] Roosevelt to Myron T. Herrick, Oct. 25, 1915.

[32] Roosevelt to E. Z. van Zile, Sept. 2, 1915.

[33] Roosevelt to Rev. John McCann, July 10, 1915.

[34] Roosevelt to Fremont Older, Mar. 23, 1915.

[35] Roosevelt to Ford, Jan. 29, 1916, quoted in Bishop, II, 399-400. Leonard Wood urged Roosevelt to go to Michigan to make preparedness speeches to counteract the influence of Ford and others in that state. See Wood to Roosevelt, Apr. 14, 1916.

[36] Roosevelt to George W. Perkins, Sept. 3, 1915.

[37] Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, Dec. 7, 1915, quoted in *Selections from the Correspondence of Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge, 1884-1918* (New York, 1925), II, 466-67.

even more vigorously. "What I am trying to do", he wrote at this time, "is to make this country go right and I don't give a damn as to what my countrymen think of me in the present or in the future, provided only I can make them wake up to the sense of their duty." [38]

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that Roosevelt felt that the American people were making a great mistake in declining to return him to the presidency.[39] On one occasion he wrote: "It would be quite impossible to nominate and elect me unless this nation were in a heroic mood and it were possible to appeal to that mood. I see no signs of such a possibility." [40]

Although he appeared to be convinced that his own nomination by the Republicans was an impossibility, Roosevelt refused to divulge what his attitude would be before the nomination was made. Everything rested, he declared, on the outcome of the Progressive and Republican conventions.[41] Even after the nomination of Charles Evans Hughes by the Republicans and of himself by the Progressives, Roosevelt still appeared a little uncertain, for his refusal of the nomination that had been tendered him was at first tentative. He later rejected the nomination with the intimation that if the policy of Hughes proved to be unsatisfactory, he might reconsider the offer of the Progressives.[42] If this action was a move to force Hughes into a definite statement, it was only partially successful. In the preconvention period Roosevelt had been considerably irritated to see Hughes side-stepping the issues connected with the war.[43] Upon his nomination, Hughes made an effort to win Roosevelt to his support. An interchange of letters and a conference convinced the former President that the nominee was sound on matters of foreign affairs and preparedness.[44] Roosevelt's speeches throughout the campaign laid rather more stress on these two issues than upon the potentialities of the Republican candidate. In all prob-

[38] Roosevelt to Arthur Lee, Feb. 18, 1916. See also Roosevelt to William Hard, Apr. 22, 1916.

[39] Roosevelt to Gifford Pinchot, Feb. 8, 1916.

[40] Roosevelt to Wayne Macveagh, Jan. 29, 1916, quoted in Bishop, II, 399.

[41] Roosevelt to W. H. Coles (*Spokesman Review*, Spokane), June 2, 1916.

[42] *New York American*, June 11, 1916.

[43] Roosevelt to W. A. Wadsworth, May 4, 1916; for a similar idea see Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, Dec. 7, 1915.

[44] For letters bearing on this subject see Roosevelt to Bryce, June 19 (quoted in Bishop, II, 413), Hughes to Roosevelt, June 26 (two letters), Roosevelt to Lodge, July 3 (quoted in *Roosevelt-Lodge Correspondence*, II, 489), to Arthur Lee, July 19, to Hughes, Aug. 28, 1916.

ability, because of his dislike for President Wilson, Roosevelt would have supported Hughes in almost any circumstance.[45]

Reference has already been made to Roosevelt's attitude toward the German-Americans. In view of his criticism of the actions of Germany, it was not to be expected that he would be particularly intimate with the defenders of the central powers. His first step, as has been indicated, was to consult with the Germans in this country in an attempt to learn their side of the case. Having reached his own conclusions, he did not drop his German friends entirely. One suspects that he was trying to win them to his own point of view. If they were assiduous in their efforts to convince him of the rectitude of Germany's actions, he was equally vigorous in attempting to demonstrate to them that Germany had erred.[46] His principal charges against Germany, which he did not hesitate to state to his German-American correspondents, were the subjugation of Belgium and the killing of Americans on the high seas. Concerning these two there could be "no serious question of fact".[47] The former President took great pains to point out during the early period of the war that his course was strictly American. In line with this argument, he not only refused to sign an appeal of a group of Anglo-Americans but sent copies of his refusal to his German friends to convince them of his Americanism.[48] On another occasion he declined to become honorary president of an Italian-American league on the ground that he was opposed to all kinds of hyphenated groups.[49] In his public utterances and writings and in the majority of his letters he pursued a course of "Americanism". While his criticism of Germany's conduct was severe, he did not, with the exception of Belgium, praise the Allies to any extent or take an avowedly pro-Ally stand.

In Roosevelt's private letters to friends in the United States and England, however, he took a somewhat different course. A perusal of these letters reveals the former President of the United States exercising the astonishing function of an unofficial and possibly unsolicited adviser of the British leaders in their attempt to win the sympathy of the

[45] Roosevelt to Albert Bushnell Hart, June 12, to W. A. Wadsworth, June 23, to Arthur Lee, Aug. 11, 1916.

[46] For typical letters see Roosevelt to George Sylvester Viereck, Nov. 7, 1914, Mar. 15, 1915; to Edmund von Mach, Nov. 7, 1914; to Hengelmüller, Mar. 24, 1915.

[47] Roosevelt to Mach, Aug. 6, 1915.

[48] Roosevelt to Mrs. Ralph Sanger, Dec. 22, to Münsterberg, Dec. 23, 1914, to Kuno Meyer, Jan. 7, 1915.

[49] Roosevelt to Italian-American League of New Jersey (Newark), Dec. 7, 1915.

United States. Several illustrations of this fact stand out in the correspondence. The present writer cannot state whether or not the advice of Roosevelt was followed at all times, but a comparison of his suggestions with subsequent events is at least highly interesting. The principal recipients of Roosevelt's advice were Arthur Lee, Rudyard Kipling, Sir Edward Grey, and Ambassador Spring-Rice. As early as November, 1914, Roosevelt was urging the British to publish an authoritative statement of German atrocities. The following extracts from a letter to Kipling illustrate the definite character of his advice:

> Now, as to these outrages. First-class men, personal friends of mine, who have followed the German armies in Belgium, have told me that they have never been able to get statements from men who have actually seen the outrages committed or at whose expense they have been committed, not to speak of women and children. What is needed is authoritative statements, backed by official authority, about these outrages. Your Government should at once make an investigation. They should take the Belgian refugees who have themselves seen or suffered the outrages, the women whose children have been killed, the men whose women and children have been killed, the men and women who have themselves suffered, and get these statements, with places and dates, and if possible photos and publlish them in an official document. These must be something specific and absolutely authentic. That is the way to reach world opinion, and that way will reach world opinion. But general or vague or dubiously authentic statements or hearsay will not and ought not to do so.[50]

In the following summer, shortly after the *Lusitania* was sunk, an official British document, the so-called Bryce Report, on alleged German atrocities was published and widely distributed throughout the world.

On January 22, 1915, Roosevelt dictated a long letter to Sir Edward Grey, which was to be delivered through the British ambassador.[51] He suggested that it be read to the British cabinet, but that it should be otherwise confidential. In this letter he analyzed briefly the state of public opinion in the United States. The feeling of sympathy for the Allies had been increased by the Zeppelin raids on England. There

[50] Nov. 4, 1914. A similar idea is expressed in a letter to C. W. Jones (Buxton, Eng.), Nov. 28, 1914.

[51] Quoted in Grey, II, 148-53. This letter to Grey was enclosed in Roosevelt's letter to Spring-Rice of January 22, 1915. That Roosevelt wished to keep his relations with Spring-Rice out of the public notice is evidenced by the following statements from his letter to Spring-Rice of February 9, 1915: "My letters to you will hereafter go in envelopes without my name on them, so as to attract as little attention as possible. . . . Do get on here. I ought to have a talk with you. I will come in town and meet you at any one of a dozen private houses where nobody will know that you have been." This letter is quoted in *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice*, Stephen Gwynn, ed. (Boston, 1929), II, 251-52.

were fluctuations in sentiment, however, and it was Roosevelt's opinion that for some time preceding these raids friendly feeling toward the Allies had lessened and pro-German sentiment was on the rise. One of the reasons for this state of opinion was the "very striking contrast between the lavish attentions showered on American war correspondents by the German military authorities and the blank refusal to have anything to do with them of the British and French governments". Probably the best American correspondent, Roosevelt said, was Frederick Palmer. This man was "favorable to the Allies", yet only the Germans had given him assistance in his task. Roosevelt asked Grey whether or not the refusal of the British to allow correspondents at the front had not been "damaging to your cause from the standpoint of the effect on public opinion, without any corresponding military gain". In June, 1915, the British modified their policy of excluding correspondents from the battle front to the extent of permitting several British and one American correspondent to visit the armies in the field. The name of the American correspondent was Frederick Palmer.[52]

In his letter to Spring-Rice enclosing the correspondence to be forwarded to Sir Edward Grey, Roosevelt made two important suggestions regarding Allied propaganda. In the first place he called attention to an official French report on alleged German atrocities, stating:

> It was an official report of the very kind which I have continually demanded should be produced before any expression of opinion from Americans was hoped for concerning these alleged atrocities. It is a most important document. It should have been prepared in English for dissemination throughout the United States as an official document. It would have a very great effect. I wish you would tell Jusserand this.[53]

Evidently Spring-Rice did tell Jusserand, for on the first of February the French ambassador wrote to Roosevelt that he had read his letters. "Nothing", the French diplomat wrote, "of course, should be omitted of what can properly be done to preserve and, if possible, improve the present dispositions of public opinion toward the Allies." The French documents and other accounts of reported German atrocities were being translated into English, he told Roosevelt, and at the same time he denounced the activities of the Germans in the United States.[54]

[52] Frederick Palmer, *With my own Eyes* (Indianapolis, 1933), p. 318 and *passim*. The present writer does not wish to intimate that Palmer's appointment came as a result of Roosevelt's recommendation only. There were other factors involved.

[53] Jan. 22, 1915.

[54] Jules Jusserand to Roosevelt, Feb. 1, 1915. The volume of French documents to which Jusserand probably referred was *Germany's Violations of the Laws of War, 1914-1915*, compiled under the auspices of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (New York, 1915).

Roosevelt's second suggestion to Spring-Rice concerned a newspaper report of an English translation of "the manual issued by the General Staff in Berlin". Many of the rules laid down in this manual were those which appeared to Roosevelt to be "very shocking, and which, I think, the average American will find very shocking". Once more the former President of the United States gave the British explicit instructions in the art of propaganda to win American sympathy. "It is simple foolishness", he said, "to let this go as a newspaper report, speedily forgotten and doubtless immediately denied." If a British translation existed, extracts from it should be made, with parallel columns of the original German in the important passages and with a citation to the original manual to demonstrate its authenticity. "This translation should be prepared especially for distribution in the United States, both to the press and to private individuals; and it should be put in such shape that the points visualize themselves at once to the ordinary reader."[55] In March, 1915, there was published an American edition of the English translation of this manual.[56]

The case of the *Dacia,* the former German-owned vessel which was sent to Europe with a cargo of cotton in an effort to embarrass Great Britain, is well known. It has been a matter of public information, also, since the publication of *The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page,* that the American ambassador showed the British an easy way out of the dilemma by suggesting that France, rather than England, seize the vessel.[57] It is perhaps not so well known that Theodore Roosevelt made the very same suggestion to Ambassador Spring-Rice at approximately the same time.[58]

Throughout the period of American neutrality Roosevelt was continually worried lest the United States and Great Britain become embroiled in controversies arising from the war. He urged his British

[55] Roosevelt to Spring-Rice, Jan. 22, 1915.

[56] *The War Book of the German General Staff: Being "The Usages of War on Land", issued by the Great General Staff of the German Army.* Translated with a Critical Introduction by J. H. Morgan (New York, 1915).

[57] Burton J. Hendrick, *The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page* (Garden City, 1926), I, 394-95.

[58] Roosevelt to Spring-Rice, Feb. 5, 1915. Roosevelt wrote: "By the way, if the Allies have to act against us on some point, where they are clearly right and we clearly wrong, I wish it could be a French and not a British ship that took the action." That Roosevelt was referring to the *Dacia* case is shown by the following sentence from a letter of his to Arthur Lee, March 15, 1915, in which he told of writing to Grey and Spring-Rice: "Subsequently I wrote, making the one tangible suggestion which I think may have done good, which was that it would be well to have a French man-of-war seize one of the ships (such as the Dacia) as to which it was desired to make a test case."

friends, therefore, to exercise great forbearance, for the sake of expediency, in disputes over maritime rights. He pointed out the great advantage which American trade gave the Allies. It was apparent that Roosevelt looked upon a war between England and America with "real horror". Despite this attitude of almost extreme friendship toward England, Roosevelt, as has been indicated, maintained in public an air of impartiality toward that country. So successful was this pose that he was even mildly criticized by the editor of the London *Spectator* for his lack of warmth toward England in his book, *America and the World War*.[59] This attitude of Roosevelt was deliberate, as he pointed out to his friend, Arthur Lee, who appeared to be one of the few persons to whom he confided his real sentiments. He based his public appeal almost solely on Belgium, he wrote his friend, for several reasons. In the first place, in his opinion, it was the strongest case. In the second place, it was the appeal to which people would be most likely to listen. In the third place, "it was the ground which I was least likely to have cut out from under me by the people on whose behalf I was acting". Roosevelt appeared to have reference to the "pacifist crowd" which, he asserted, existed in England as well as in America. By taking his stand entirely on Belgium, Roosevelt could state: "I am not advocating action to please England but . . . to do our duty by Belgium and for the sake of our own self-respect".[60]

It would seem, in conclusion, that from the early months of the war Roosevelt believed that America's course lay with the Allies. It also appears quite clear that he attempted to steer the American people into this course, first by a direct appeal based on a demand for justice to Belgium and retaliation for injury done to Americans on the high seas, and second by advice given Allied leaders to render more effective their propaganda in this country. To one looking back on the events, Roosevelt's efforts to turn his nation into this channel may seem at least overzealous and open to misinterpretation; yet in the eyes of the man himself, his actions were undoubtedly justified by the firm belief that what he was doing was for the good of his country.

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[59] (New York, 1915). John St. Loe Strachey to Roosevelt, Feb. 1, 1915.
[60] Roosevelt to Lee, Mar. 16, 1915.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

A Footnote to Secret Aid in the American Revolution

The battle of Saratoga was fought and won with powder furnished to the American insurgents by French merchants, among them being Roderigue Hortalez et Cie., a commercial house subsidized by the French government. The ingenious plan of secret aid upon which the operations of this house were based has been attributed both to Caron de Beaumarchais, alias "Roderigue Hortalez", and to the Comte de Vergennes, French minister of foreign affairs. Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis in his *Diplomacy of the American Revolution* sets forth one of the principal reasons for uncertainty concerning the origin of the specific plan of operations adopted. He writes:

> Until we know the date of the "Réflexions" more precisely—and probably we shall never know—we cannot tell whether the idea of assisting the Americans with secret military supplies came from Beaumarchais to Vergennes originally, or whether Beaumarchais's activities and his famous "Peace or War" memoir of February 29, 1776, were merely the logical development of Vergennes's own decision.[1]

The "Réflexions", to which Dr. Bemis refers, was a ministerial document that outlined the major features of the plan of secret aid subsequently adopted. The "Peace or War" memoir by Beaumarchais, submitted to the government, likewise suggested the salient features of the plan of secret aid. Which document was written first? The answer to this question will aid in determining responsibility for the origin of the specific plan by which needed secret assistance was transmitted to the Americans.

Unfortunately the problem has been complicated by a mass of confusing chronological evidence and by the disappearance for seventy-five years of one of the original documents involved. Beaumarchais's "Peace or War" memoir was submitted to Louis XVI on February 29, 1776. Another memoir, which outlined in detail the proposed establishment of a commercial house to handle the transactions involved in secret aid, was probably submitted at the same time.[2] We may take

[1] (New York, 1935), p. 23.

[2] This memoir is undated. I have not found it in the French archives, but it is printed in New York Historical Society *Collections, Deane Papers*, I (1887), 100-108, where it is said to have been found among the Deane Papers of the Connecticut

February 29, 1776, therefore, as the date of Beaumarchais's first specific suggestion. The confusing element of the problem is the date of the ministerial "Réflexions".

In 1861 Cornélis de Witt first printed the "Réflexions" in the appendix to his *Thomas Jefferson,* dating it "Mars 1776".[3] He gave no source for the document. Henri Doniol, in 1886, reprinted it in his *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis,* giving as his source the Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères, mémoires et documents, États-Unis, volume 1, no. 4 [ff. 58-66], and dating it "fin de 1775".[4] This reference is inexact. The document Doniol printed is not to be found where he indicated. Instead, his reference leads us to an unfinished and undated draft of the same document, varying from De Witt's complete text in several particulars and bound at the very end of the volume for 1775. Doniol evidently searched for the text that De Witt printed but found instead the incomplete draft. Rather than print the incomplete text, he seems to have reprinted De Witt's text and ascribed to it the archival classification of the document he had found. Solely on the strength of this same classification, apparently, he changed De Witt's date of "Mars 1776" to "fin de 1775".

Several years later Benjamin Franklin Stevens noticed the discrepancy between Doniol's printed text and the document from which Doniol claimed it was taken. Stevens notes in his *Facsimiles* that with the aid of the foreign office officials he made a search for the original of the printed text given by both De Witt and Doniol. It was not to be found. Stevens therefore reproduced the unfinished draft as No. 1310 of the *Facsimiles* and dated it "end of 1775", the only obvious indication of its date being its archival classification. Meticulous scholars in the field have been unwilling to accept this date as correct,[5] and justly so, but no further external evidence has heretofore been available that would aid in giving the "Réflexions" a more definite chronological position.

Internal criticism of both the unfinished Stevens draft and the

Historical Society. An editor's note reads: "Submitted in Feb. 1776." It belongs logically with the memoir of February 29, for it outlines definitely a method of implementing the principles advocated in that memoir. The two memoirs complement each other to such an extent that it is reasonable to suppose that they were submitted together. Almost certainly this memoir did not antedate that of February 29.

[3] (Paris), pp. 487-93. [4] (Paris), I, 243-49.

[5] Bemis writes (p. 23, n. 20) concerning the "Réflexions": "I see no reason why it is impossible that they should have been written in early January, 1776".

printed text of De Witt and Doniol gives reason to believe that the date "end of 1775" cannot be correct. There is evidence that neither document could have been written before February 27, 1776. On that day there reached Versailles a report from Achard de Bonvouloir, who had gone to Philadephia in the preceding September as an unofficial observer for the French government. The "Réflexions" includes statements of political conditions and events in America of which the French government could not have been aware before Bonvouloir's dispatch reached Versailles. The conclusion that the "Réflexions" was written after February 27, 1776, is bolstered by the fact that ideas and even phraseology lifted bodily from Bonvouloir's report may be found in both texts of the "Réflexions".[6]

Further internal criticism would indicate that the "Réflexions" was not drawn up before March 12, 1776. It speaks much more positively concerning the American desire for independence than does the "Considérations", another ministerial document, the date of which we know to be March 12. In view of the fact that both these papers emanated from the same source, the bureau of the Comte de Vergennes, there is reason to believe that the "Considérations" was written first. It speaks of "the ideas of independence that as yet are growing only feebly" in America. The "Réflexions" mentions as an existing fact the colonists' determination to "free themselves from all dependence on their mother country, and to establish a nation, a separate republic".[7]

[6] Bonvouloir's report is printed in Doniol, I, 267-69, 287-92. The following extracts are given for purposes of comparison. Bonvouloir's report reads: "Trois choses importantes leur manquent: une bonne marine, des provisions et de l'argent" (Doniol, I, 287). The De Witt and Doniol text of the "Réflexions" reads: "Mais elles manquent 1° de provisions de guerre; 2° d'argent comptant; 3° d'une bonne marine" (*ibid.*, p. 246). The Stevens text reads: "Mais ce qui leur manque ce Sont 1°. des provisions de guerre 2°. de l'argent comptant, 3°. une bonne marine" (No. 1310, *Facsimiles*, XIII). Again, Bonvouloir's report reads: "Tout le monde ici est soldat. Les troupes sont bien vêtues, bien payées et bien commandées. Ils ont environ cinquante mille hommes soudoyés et un nombre plus considérable de volontaires qui ne veulent point de paye" (Doniol, I, 289). The De Witt and Doniol text of the "Réflexions" reads: "Les Colonies . . . ont actuellement sur pied 50,000 hommes de troupes régulières, bien vêtues, bien armées, bien disciplinées, bien commandées. Elles ont presque autant de volontaires qui ne reçoivent pas de solde, et qui ne demandent qu'à combattre" (*ibid.*, p. 246). The Stevens text reads: "Les Colonies ont actuellement sur pied 50 m. hommes de troupes regulières, bien vêtues, bien armées, bien disciplinées, bien commandées; elles ont presqu' autant de volontaires qui ne reçoivent pas de solde, et qui temoignent la plus grande ardeur pour combattre" (No. 1310, *Facsimiles*, XIII).

[7] The "Considérations" reads: "on soutiendrait le courage des Américains par quelques faveurs secrètes et par des espérances vagues qui préviendraient les démarches qu'on cherche à les induire de faire pour un accommodement et qui contribueraient à

It is to be noted, moreover, that the development of French official interest in the American revolt advanced by a logical and orderly progression during 1775 and 1776 until the final decision to grant secret aid was arrived at. The "Considérations" was a statement of policy, as distinguished from a plan of operations. Logically, the definition of policy must precede the drawing up of measures to implement that policy. In keeping with the general development of French interest in the American revolt, therefore, we might reasonably suppose that the "Réflexions" was proposed after the policy embodied in the "Considérations" had been approved. Vergennes submitted the "Considérations" for purposes of written discussion to four members of the royal council, Maurepas, Sartine, Saint-Germain, and Turgot. The final opinion upon them, that of Turgot, was not forthcoming until April 6.[8] It seems unlikely that the policy set forth in the "Considérations" would have been implemented by the specific proposals of the "Réflexions" until after all the opinions had been received. It might be argued that the two papers could have been drafted at the same time, but the newly discovered external evidence submitted below seems to be conclusive against this hypothesis.

This evidence is to be found in a document I have seen at the French foreign office—the original of the De Witt and Doniol text of the "Réflexions", the document that Stevens was unable to find. It is preserved in the Correspondance politique, Angleterre supplément, volume 18, ff. 56-63. It is a sixteen page draft in the handwriting of Gérard de Rayneval, bearing the endorsement "Avril 1776". This date,

faire éclore les idées d'indépendance qui ne germent encore que sourdement parmi eux" (Doniol, I, 276). The De Witt and Doniol text of the "Réflexions" reads: "On a lieu de croire que le but des Colonies n'est plus le simple redressement de leurs griefs, mais qu'elles ont pris la résolution de secouer le joug de leur mère-patrie" (*ibid.*, p. 243). The Stevens text of the "Réflexions" reads: "Quant aux Americains, il est probable que dans l'origine de leur querelle, ils n'avoient d'autre dessein que celui de jouir paisiblement et sans alteration de leur liberté et des prerogatives qu'ils pretendoient fondés sur leurs chartres; mais on est autorisé de croire que la sisteme des moyens employés pour les soumettre jointe aux différentes actes que parlement a rendus contr'eux leur a fait prendre la resolution de s'affranchir de toute dépendance de leur metropole, et de former une nation, une Rep. séparée" (No. 1310, *Facsimiles*, XIII).

[8] For Turgot's memoir see Doniol, I, 280-84; Edward S. Corwin, *French Policy and the American Alliance of 1778* (Princeton, 1916), pp. 74-78; Bemis, pp. 26-27. The Comte de Saint-Germain's reply, March 15, is No. 1319, Stevens's *Facsimiles*, XIII. Another memoir, undated and unsigned, is *ibid.*, No. 1320. It was written by either the Comte de Maurepas or M. de Sartine and entitled, "Réflexions sur la nécessité de secourir les Américains et de se préparer à la guerre avec l'Angleterre". Doniol prints this last memoir (I, 284-86) and thinks that it was probably the work of Maurepas.

it will be noticed, is quite consistent with the evidence set forth above.

The "Considérations" had presented three major aims that French policy, with Spanish collaboration, should strive to achieve. The first was to persuade England that the two Bourbon powers desired peace. This policy was already being carried out. The second was to prepare for eventual war with Great Britain. In pursuance of this objective a royal command was issued on April 22, 1776, ordering the rebuilding of the navy and the supplying of new equipment for the army.[9] The third aim was to keep up the courage of the American insurgents by giving them some secret assistance. This final policy, it is submitted, was implemented in the same month, April, by the preparation of the official plan of secret aid to be found in the "Réflexions". Furthermore, on May 2, 1776, Louis XVI authorized the first subsidy of one million livres for secret aid.[10]

There seems little reason to doubt that the official plan of secret aid was elaborated some time between the definition of policy in the "Considérations" of March 12 and the actual authorization of secret aid on May 2. All the evidence indicates that the specific plan of operations followed had been first advanced unofficially by Beaumarchais.

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LONDON MERCHANT INTEREST IN THE ST. DOMINGUE PLANTATIONS OF THE ÉMIGRÉS, 1793-1798

The broad outlines of the ill-fated British attempt to conquer the French colony of St. Domingue (Haiti) are well known. Suffice it to recall that in 1793 Pitt's ministry, at the request of a number of prominent *émigré* planters in London, who preferred the rule of the British crown to that of the French Convention, ordered troops to the island. By early autumn two ports were taken, and Port-au-Prince, the old capital, fell to the invaders in June of the following year. There progress stopped. Despite vast expenditures in money and men the British troops, aided by battalions of royalist planters and Negroes, could not wrest the colony from the republicans. In 1798 England retired completely from this disastrous conflict.[1]

[9] The text of this document, with a facsimile of the king's "Approuvé" which was affixed to it, is in Doniol, I, 345.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 372, 374-76; Juan F. Yela Utrilla, *España ante la independencia de los Estados Unidos* (2 vols., Lérida, 1925), I, 97-105.

[1] Pamphile de Lacroix, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution de Saint-*

As may be imagined, the evacuation of St. Domingue caused great distress among the absentee planters in London. These planters shared at least some of their concern with the London firms which had provided them with funds in return for mortgages on their property. The losses of several large commercial houses form, indeed, a significant aspect of the British occupation. Before relating this aspect of the subject, however, it seems well to say a word about the value of St. Domingue properties at that time.[2] Since the details here given are based on the claims of the owners for compensation, some allowance must be made for probable exaggeration.

The Marquis de Choiseul, a member of the celebrated family which had given two ministers to France at the time of the Seven Years' War, had all of his property in St. Domingue. He listed his possessions as three plantations and the island of Gonave, facing Port-au-Prince, a piece of land measuring twenty-seven miles in length with an average width of nine miles. The marquis did not put a monetary value on his vast holdings.[3] But the Comte de Vaudreuil, owning less, showed less modesty in this respect. According to a letter of June 29, 1798, he had hoped for an annual income of £15,000 sterling from his St. Domingue property at the time Port-au-Prince was evacuated. A few weeks later he gave in a memoir the basis of this hope.[4] Like Choiseul, Vaudreuil possessed three plantations.[5] Only one lay within the territory occupied by the British. This *habitation* with its three hundred Negroes brought in an annual revenue of £12,000 sterling.

Domingue (Paris, 1819), I, 333, says they spent "plusieurs centaines de millions" and lost more than 30,000 men; Colonel Malenfant, *Des colonies et particulièrement de celle de Saint-Domingue* (Paris, 1814), p. 91, estimates the losses at more than 45,000 white soldiers and more than £20,000,000 sterling. On the other hand, the late Sir John Fortescue after long research declared: "The amount of blood and treasure drained from England by that miserable island of St. Domingo will never, I think, be truly known." In his opinion, however, at least 15,000 men were sacrificed. J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army* (London, 1899-1930), IV, 565-66.

[2] For information on landowning in St. Domingue before the revolution see Léon Vignols, "Early French Colonial Policy: Land Appropriation in Haiti in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", *Journal of Economic and Business History*, II (Nov., 1929), 101-45; also the figures given in Blanche Maurel, ed., *Cahiers de doléances de la colonie de Saint-Domingue pour les états généraux de 1789* (Paris, 1933), pp. 359-92.

[3] Duc de Choiseul to Lord Liverpool, July 25, 1800, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, 38234, f. 118; undated memoir, *ibid.*, 37868, f. 161. Choiseul's "large sugar plantation" in Petite Anse was burned early in the revolution. A. Dalmas, *Histoire de la révolution de Saint-Domingue* (Paris, 1814), I, 183.

[4] Add. MSS., 38232, ff. 140-41, 187.

[5] In two of these his niece, Mlle. de Duras, had a half interest.

No figures are available on the extent of the Walsh possessions, but they must have been immense. Comte Walsh de Serrant, connected by marriage with the Marquis de Choiseul,[6] once stated in signing a petition to the British government that the Walsh family owned twelve hundred Negroes on its St. Domingue plantations.[7] In sharp contrast, the Baron de Montboissier once referred to the loss of only twelve Negroes, whom the British had carried off from his factory. He set a price, however, of £1000 sterling on these twelve "hommes de choix".[8] If all the Walsh slaves had been of the same quality, which is unlikely, and they had been valued at the same rating, they would have been worth £100,000 sterling!

Such were some of the great stakes involved in St. Domingue property. Dozens of other proprietors living in London owned less land and fewer Negroes, but all of them needed money to meet daily living expenses. It is not surprising that when the British government undertook to conquer the colony, a number of London firms considered it a good investment to provide the exiles with funds. The Comte de Vaudreuil stated in 1798 that he had been living for four years on a pension from his bankers.[9]

The operations of the firm of Simond & Hankey may be followed in some detail from its ledger for the years 1792-99, preserved by its successor, Thomson Hankey & Co.[10] Simond & Hankey had dealings with the *émigré* planters early in 1793, even before the British troops had effected the first landing in the colony. An account with Malouet, the agent of the proprietors to the British government, balanced in that year at £490.[11] Since Malouet's plantation had not yet been destroyed, he was evidently able and disposed to meet his obligations. Others were less fortunate or less honorable. In the name of "L'habitation Santo à St. Domingue" the firm paid out to various individuals during the years 1793 and 1794 the sum of £1794 15*s.* 6*d.*; the credit side of the account amounted to only £49.[12] From July, 1793, to December, 1797, the Marquis de Chabanne received £863 14*s.* 7*d.*, of which he paid back only £60—on January 30, 1794.[13] Another planter, named De

[6] See Vicomte [Joseph Alexis] Walsh, *Souvenirs de cinquante ans* (Paris, 1845), p. 50.

[7] Jan. 7, 1798, War Office 1/69, ff. 109-11 (Public Record Office, London).

[8] Montboissier to Liverpool, Prague, Oct. 1, 1798, Add. MSS., 38232, ff. 273-74.

[9] June 29, 1798, *ibid.*, f. 140.

[10] This ledger was kindly placed at the writer's disposal by Mr. Gurney, a partner in the firm. [11] Ledger of Simond & Hankey, 1792-99, f. 67.

[12] *Ibid.*, ff. 65, 186. [13] *Ibid.*, ff. 51, 209.

l'Epine, who was allowed in 1793 a monthly pension of £25, never paid back anything.[14]

Such accounts are dwarfed by that of the Marquise de Belsunce. This noblewoman was probably the Madame de Belzunce (*sic*) mentioned by Vicomte Walsh as one of several French ladies of rank who conducted fashionable salons in London early in the exile period.[15] Later designated as the "Proprietress of the very considerable plantation de Verges La Général and La Ravine in L'Arcahaye",[16] the marquise must at one time have enjoyed a princely income. Simond & Hankey obviously considered her a good risk. On the account of the De Vergès plantation she received from the firm in 1796 the sum of £671, generally at the rate of £50 a month. During the three years following, the marquise had an account in her own name, receiving in addition £1291 2*s*.[17] Her total indebtedness to Simond & Hankey therefore approached £2000.

Not even Turnbull, Forbes & Co., whose investments in St. Domingue, on its own statement, "were certainly the most extensive of any Merchants in London", advanced so much money to a single individual.[18] After the evacuation of Port-au-Prince this firm submitted to the Duke of Portland a list of thirty-two debtors with the amounts they owed, including interest.[19] Of these, one M. de Gouvello owed the most—£1250; M. le Promière *fils* was indebted for as little as £28. The whole account came to £8256.[20]

It was only natural that the merchants with claims on St. Domingue estates should desire, like the planters themselves, to influence British policy toward the colony. Members of both groups joined forces in July, 1794, to petition the government to push the conquest. Word of the fall of Port-au-Prince in the preceding month apparently evoked this action. In presenting their petition, which bears fifty signatures, including the names of six merchant firms, Malouet called attention to the latter by remarking in a postscript: "Our petition is also signed by

[14] *Ibid.*, f. 78. [15] Walsh, p. 63. [16] Treasury 81/1 (Public Record Office).

[17] Ledger of Simond & Hankey, ff. 314, 355, 378, 409, 506, 586, 641.

[18] Turnbull, Forbes & Co. to J. King, Nov. 28, 1798, W. O. 1/68, ff. 575-78. It is interesting to note that despite the St. Domingue losses John Turnbull of this firm was able from 1798 to 1800 to loan more than £2000 to Miranda, the Spanish American adventurer. See William Spence Robertson, *The Life of Miranda* (Chapel Hill, 1929), I, 245. [19] July 6, 1798, W. O. 1/68, ff. 465-67.

[20] Both the letter and the copy of the account inclosed state the sum as £9256, but a fresh addition of the figures shows an error of £1000. Such errors are found all too frequently in eighteenth century statistics.

several merchants, creditors of the proprietors of St. Domingo."[21] Asking the merchants to participate in the petition seems to have been an afterthought, for the text of the document bears no trace of their co-operation in drafting it.[22] This may explain why each firm appended to its signature a brief statement explaining that it had made "des avances considérables" to the St. Domingue proprietors.

The news having been passed about that the proprietors had appealed to the government, a group of merchants decided to second their efforts by submitting a petition of their own. A committee of seven members, including representatives of Turnbull, Forbes & Co. and Rutd. Muilman & Co., both of which firms had signed the proprietors' petition, presented their position in this matter in a petition to the Duke of Portland, dated July 25, 1794. Seventeen firms signed this document.[23] It reads as follows:

> We the undersigned Merchants & Ship Owners interested in the affairs of Saint Domingo, by advances made to the Proprietors of Plantations in the Island, Engagements entered into with them, & by considerable adventures from hence—being made acquainted with the Memorial presented by the Proprietors to Your Grace, whereby they request a sufficient Military Force from His Majesty in order to preserve the recent conquests made in that Island, those which are further to be made, & also to maintain tranquility & to exterminate those Hords [*sic*] of Banditti that will seek shelter in the interior parts of the Island.
>
> We beg leave to unite ourselves to second the Request of the said Proprietors, & take the Liberty to suggest that not only their personal interests are concerned, but also those of the commerce of Great Britain, & particularly of a number of Individuals in this metropolis. We therefore beg & crave that vigorous and early measures may be adopted, such as the Wisdom of Your Grace & the rest of His Majesty's Ministers may think will prove efficacious to produce the wished for event. And further that such agreements may be made with the Court of Spain[24] as will bring on the annihilation [of the] Banditti, and disarm those Bodies of Negroes which

[21] Malouet to Dundas, July 18, 1794. W. O. 1/60, ff. 407-18.

[22] *Ibid.*, ff. 421-24.

[23] Their names were: L. Tessier; Rutd. Muilman & Co.; P. Simond, J. Hankey & Son; R. & Wm. Lee; Bridgman, Combe & Bridgman; Turnbull, Forbes & Co.; Camden, Calvert & King; Edward MacCulloch & Co.; Smith & Atkinson; Phyn Ellin & Inglis; Sterling Hunters & Co.; John Gout & Co.; Aquilar Dias & Lindo; Jas. Cazenove & Co.; Brickwood, Pattle & Co.; Grandelos Meste *fils* & Cie; S. M. Bethman.

[24] Spain, it will be remembered, possessed the eastern part of the island of Santo Domingo, now the Dominican Republic, and consequently the merchants were justified in supposing that it had an interest in crushing the republican power in the French colony. Nevertheless, in 1795, Spain ceded this territory to France at the very moment the British government was planning to send Malouet to the island on a mission to effect Anglo-Spanish co-operation there. C. L. Lokke, "St. Domingue in Anglo-Spanish Diplomacy in 1795", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVI (May, 1936), 250-57.

exist in different quarters of the Island in numbers sufficient to create well grounded fears.[25]

Despite these appeals, the government allowed the war in St. Domingue to lag. The war in Europe having taken such a bad turn, oversea affairs were perforce neglected. Before long Prussia and Spain made peace with France. In 1796 Pitt decided to attempt to do the same and accordingly sent Lord Malmesbury to Paris on a peace mission in October of that year.

The London merchants with investments in St. Domingue were not slow in seeing the danger to their interests. They feared that peace meant the restitution of the colony to France and the consequent loss of these investments. It seemed fitting therefore to remind the government of their position. On November 4, 1796, at a general meeting of the merchants held in London Tavern, a number of resolutions was agreed to and then presented on November 9 to Portland by John Turnbull. First stating that they had advanced large sums for the "support and maintenance" of the St. Domingue proprietors, the merchants declared that in case the island were returned to France it was "of the most essential consequence" to them that the peace treaty provide for the reinstatement of the proprietors to their estates "on which the Debts have been contracted". If such an arrangement proved impossible, the estates should be made responsible for the payment of the sums owing to the merchants. Moreover, the produce of these plantations should, for a number of years after the peace, be shipped on the same terms whether to England or to France, the export duties in St. Domingue remaining the same for either destination. The merchants also presented the advantages of forced labor, for France, it will be recalled, had freed all its slaves two years before. French rule, therefore, meant no cultivators, no production, according to eighteenth century conceptions.[26] No matter which country kept the colony, these Englishmen recommended that the "ancient regulations, under Just & proper modifications, with respect to that description of men, should in a certain degree be recurred to".[27] The government appears to have paid no attention to these suggestions. There was indeed no reason to do so, because the peace negotiators in Paris were unable to reach an agreement. France refused to surrender its Continental conquests in

[25] W. O. 1/59, ff. 441-43.

[26] See Léon Vignols, "Une question mal posée: Le travail manuel des blancs et des esclaves aux Antilles, XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles", *Revue historique*, CLXXV (Mar., 1935), pp. 308-15. [27] W. O. 1/64, ff. 407, 411-12.

return for restitution of its oversea possessions. The war was resumed.

In less than six months, however, Malmesbury again left for France on a new peace mission. And again the London merchants undertook to advise the government. John Turnbull presented their views to Portland in a letter of June 15, 1797. On this occasion, it is interesting to note, Turnbull did not refer to St. Domingue by name. He contented himself with a brief reference to the duke's promise that the merchants who had made advances in connection with the new conquests should not suffer losses in case of peace. The remainder of the Turnbull letter is devoted to the advantages of Demerara (Georgetown) and its environs, a recent British conquest. This region, asserted the merchant, not only produced more coffee and sugar than all the English islands together but could be improved to an incalculable degree.[28] It would probably not be difficult, he thought, to persuade the Dutch to surrender their claim to it.[29]

The reason for Turnbull's failure to dweli anew on the St. Domingue situation is not far to seek. Only a month before, the government had disclosed to parliament that over four million pounds had been spent in the vain effort to bring about the complete conquest of the colony. This news, accompanied by word of the terrible mortality among the troops serving in St. Domingue, disheartened everybody. The merchants, it would appear, were early turning their attention from St. Domingue to other tropical regions in order not to be caught napping.

Within another year the British situation in the French colony became impossible. For the second time Malmesbury failed to make peace with the Directory, and both countries pressed the war with renewed vigor in Europe. In St. Domingue, on the other hand, General Maitland, the British commander, seeing no prospect of obtaining from resident planters the funds necessary for maintaining his position, abandoned the conquest. His action evoked the letter cited above from Turnbull, Forbes & Co. to Portland, announcing the sum of over £8000 owed by debtors from whom there was "now no possible hope of Reimbursement".[30]

In this same letter Turnbull, Forbes & Co. announced an "infinitely greater loss"—that of its branch establishment in Port-au-Prince. It did not attempt to estimate the total losses. Nor did the other firms

[28] *Cf.* the statement of one Thomas King in 1813. J. Holland Rose, "British West India Commerce as a Factor in the Napoleonic War", *Cambridge Historical Journal*, III (1929-31), 34-46.

[29] W. O. 1/66, ff. 455-57. [30] See above, n. 19.

which had made advances to the French planters and doubtless had also taken steps to found branch houses in St. Domingue; they did not even complain to the government when the conquest was abandoned. It is therefore impossible to determine at all accurately the total amount expended by the merchants in this oversea venture. Even the expenditures of the British government in St. Domingue are imperfectly known owing to gaps in the documents in the Public Record Office.[31]

The ledger of Simond & Hankey cited above contains enough information to make one regret the more the destruction of that firm's old correspondence, which became necessary a few years ago when the present firm moved from its eighteenth century location in Mincing Lane. Investigation might show that similar papers of other houses are still in existence. If so, and if they are made available for research, more light would be thrown on the activities of the merchant houses and hence on the commercial history of this period.[32]

CARL LUDWIG LOKKE.

The National Archives.

[31] Fortescue, *loc. cit.*

[32] The London *Times* in its issue of June 25, 1934, pointed out the importance of such papers in an article entitled "History in Commercial Records".

DOCUMENTS

More Light on Franklin's Religious Ideas

The following extracts from an unpublished manuscript in the Cardiff Public Library (MS. 2.191) throw some light on two episodes in the life of Benjamin Franklin during his last sojourn in London and on an incident in the life of Rousseau. The manuscript is a fragment of an autobiography entitled "Incidents in my Own Life which have been thought of some Importance" and is the work of David Williams (1738-1816). The author, of whom there is an adequate biography by Alexander Gordon in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, is best known as the founder of the Royal Literary Fund, and it would appear that his main object in beginning his autobiography was to relate the circumstances which led to its foundation. He deals, however, with other episodes of interest in his early life, particularly with his friendship with Brissot, the conferring of the title of French citizen upon him by the Convention, his assistance in the preparation of the Girondist project of a constitution in 1793, and the abortive diplomatic mission entrusted to him by Le Brun, as well as with the attempts at religious reform which are the subject of this note. The manuscript consists of fifty-seven pages, once loose but now bound together by the Cardiff Public Library, and is written in a very legible hand, apparently towards the end of his life. Unfortunately it is fragmentary.[1] It ceases altogether after the foundation of the Literary Fund, and parts of it have been torn and removed. Moreover, letters and documents which were to be attached to the autobiography, including letters to the author from Frederick the Great and Voltaire, were purloined by collectors before the manuscript was acquired by the Cardiff Public Library and have since disappeared.[2]

The extracts given below deal with the formation of the Thirteen Club, of which Franklin was the most prominent member, and the issue by this club of the *Liturgy on the Universal Principles of Religion*

[1] No mention, for example, is made of Williams's secret diplomatic mission to France in 1802.

[2] The letters from Frederick the Great and Voltaire were fortunately printed in an anonymous obituary notice of Williams, evidently by an intimate friend, which appeared in the *Annual Biography, 1818*, II, 16-48. They are also to be found in Albert Mathiez, *La théophilanthropie et le culte décadaire* (Paris, 1903), pp. 392 ff.

and Morality.[3] This episode, in spite of its importance, particularly in the religious history of the French Revolution, has been almost entirely neglected by the biographers of Franklin.[4] This is the more surprising as they all pay attention to the collaboration of Franklin and Lord Le Despencer (Sir Francis Dashwood) in an *Abridgement of the Book of Common Prayer*, and it can only be assumed that their interest in this less important work is due to the piquancy involved in the attempt of an American deist and of one of the worst reprobates of the century, now turned pious, to reform the services of the Church of England.[5] There is little doubt that the *Liturgy* was far more important than the *Abridgement* both in itself and in the religious life of Franklin. The *Abridgement* was mainly the work of Dashwood, formerly an associate of Wilkes and member of the Hell Fire Club, and now postmaster general of Great Britain. Franklin as postmaster general for America had come into contact with him, and it was at his request that Franklin collaborated with him in Prayer Book reform. Franklin's share, however, consisted only in abridging the Catechism and the Psalms and in writing the preface, in which the motive of the two reformers

[3] Extracts from Williams's autobiography relating to the Girondist project of a constitution will be published in the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*. Williams's diplomatic mission in 1793 will be dealt with in an article to appear in the near future in the *English Historicial Review*.

[4] The only reference to it in the standard biographies of Franklin which the present writer has been able to trace is the following sentence in S. G. Fisher, *The True Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia, 1899), p. 98. Dealing with Franklin as "a dabster in liturgies" Fisher asks: "Had he not when only twenty-two written his own creed and liturgy, compounded of mythology and Christianity, and had he not afterwards, *as is supposed*, assisted David Williams to prepare the 'Apology for Professing the Religion of Nature' with a most reasonable and sensible liturgy attached?". Fisher is in error here. The *Liturgy* attached to the *Apology* was not the same as the one compiled with the collaboration of Franklin, but an adaptation of it which Williams hoped would be less objectionable to the general public. J. M. Stifler, *The Religion of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1925), has no reference to the *Liturgy*. On the other hand, writers on Theophilanthropy do not seem to be aware of Franklin's connection with it.

[5] *Abridgement of the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the Use of the Church of England: together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David, Printed as they are to be sung or said in Churches* (London, 1773). For this, in addition to all the standard biographies of Franklin, see *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXI, 225 ff., and 502, and also P. L. Ford, *Franklin Bibliography: List of Books written by, or relating to, Benjamin Franklin* (Brooklyn, 1889), pp. 141-43. The preface to the *Abridgement* is reproduced in *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, A. H. Smyth, ed. (New York, 1907), VI, 165-71, and in Stifler, Appendix I. The *Abridgement* is extremely rare. There does not seem to be a copy in the British Museum Library, the Bodleian, or any of the public libraries of Great Britain. The writer of this note has therefore had to rely upon descriptions of the work, which are sufficiently numerous and detailed. There is a copy in the Library of Congress.

was explained. This motive was purely utilitarian, the rendering of the services of the Church of England more attractive to young and old by making them shorter and by leaving out "imprecations, which appeared not to suit well the Christian doctrine of forgiveness of injuries". Franklin says of the *Abridgement:* "The book was . . . never much noticed. Some were given away, very few sold, and I suppose the bulk became waste paper".[6]

The *Liturgy* was different both in origin and in intention. The exact circumstances of its compilation are given in the extract from Williams's autobiography. It should be noted that the idea had occurred to Williams before he met Franklin. During his period as a minister in Exeter he had apparently produced for his own use a "Liturgy on the Principles of the Christian Religion", which does not seem to have been published. Shortly after his moving to London he printed two essays in the *Public Advertiser* in which he expressed the need of a liturgy for those who liked neither the Book of Common Prayer nor the extemporary services of the Dissenters. These essays, together with a number of others, he published in 1773 under the title of *Essays on Public Worship, Patriotism and Projects of Reformation*,[7] and it was this booklet which brought him to the notice of Franklin. It is therefore important to note that these essays contain the germ of the *Liturgy*. It was his belief that "all disputed opinions should be excluded from public worship, and all honest, pious men, Calvanists [*sic*], Arians, Socinians, Jews, Turks and Infidels, might and ought to worship God together in spirit and in truth".[8] He therefore thought that the liturgy should contain only indisputable principles. Worshippers might have other ideas if they chose, but they could still join together in public worship. There was no need, he maintained, for the Trinitarian to explain to the Deity the particular form under which he conceived Him to exist, or for the Christian to tell the Deity at the end of every prayer that he was a Christian, for this made it impossible for others to join in communion with him.[9] The preface to the *Liturgy* repeats these ideas. Its purpose was "a form of social worship composed on the most enlarged and general principles, in which all men may join who acknowledge the existence of a supreme Intelligence and the universal obligations of morality", and among such men are included Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans.[10] This idea of emphasizing the elements common to all religions may seem trite enough today, but one cannot

[6] Franklin to Granville Sharp, Passy, July 5, 1785, Ford, p. 143.
[7] P. 6. [8] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21. [9] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[10] *Liturgy on the Universal Principles of Religion and Morality* (London, 1776), p. x.

exaggerate its striking originality at the end of the eighteenth century.

In his *Essays on Public Worship* Williams advocates the use of the Book of Common Prayer as a model in language.[11] Actually, however, the *Liturgy* owed very little to it except the form of the services and certain phrases, particularly in the general confession, although some well-known hymns were included among its "Psalms".[12] It is obvious therefore that the *Liturgy* owed little to the *Abridgement,* which appeared in the same year as the *Essays on Public Worship.* Nevertheless the first extract given below proves that Franklin took an important part in the composition of the *Liturgy* and that it was revised by the club six times before it finally appeared. The author of the biographical notice of Williams in the *Annual Biography*[13] states that he was assured by the grandson of Dr. Franklin that Williams had had his assistance in the simplification and arrangement of the *Liturgy.* In consequence the brief synopsis of his religious beliefs which Williams gives in this extract probably represents very closely the ideas of Franklin also.

The only list available of the members of the Thirteen Club seems to be the one given in the following extract, which omits four names. It is possible, however, that three of the missing names were those of Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society, General Melville, a Scotchman and inventor of the carronade, and Dr. Somerville, a Scottish divine and historian, for it was these three, together with Bentley and Solander, who rented the chapel on Margaret Street.[14] Colonel Dawson, the link between Franklin and Williams, had become acquainted with Franklin through his work on electricity.[15] Thomas Bentley, possibly the most interesting of the other members of the group, had already dabbled in religious reform in Liverpool. He disagreed with Williams because he wished to insist in the *Liturgy* upon the immortality of the soul. He thus describes the first meeting at the chapel on Margaret Street:

> We have a church here begun upon a still more noble and liberal plan. The service was read last Sunday to a very attractive but accidental congregation; and the design was explained in a sermon, which was delivered in a very animated and striking manner, by Mr. Williams, the author of the *Liturgy.* The sermon is to be published. Mr. Williams is to deliver a course of twenty lectures upon the universal principles of religion and morality, conformable to the title and spirit of his liturgy, and he is to depend upon

[11] P. 65.

[12] *E.g.*, "O God, our help in ages past". Pope's well-known poem, "Father of all, in every age", is also included. [13] See note 2 above.

[14] *Thomas Bentley, 1730-1780, of Liverpool, Etruria and London* (an anonymous brochure privately printed at Guildford, 1927), p. 51. [15] *Writings,* I, 106, V, 397.

the efficacy of his liturgy and his sermons for a society and a subscription. The service is only used once a day, and begins at 12 o'clock.[16]

Of the remainder of the thirteen, Josiah Wedgwood was the famous potter; James Stuart, a painter and architect; John Whitehurst, a clockmaker; Dr. Solander, a Swedish botanist and keeper of the Printed Books in the British Museum; and Thomas Day, a poet and the author of *Sandford and Merton,* who was one of the chief disciples of Rousseau in England.[17]

The *Essays on Public Worship* and the *Liturgy* gave much offense to the general public.[18] Williams's creed was parodied in the words: "I believe in God. Amen." He was attacked in a somewhat scurrilous though not unpleasing satire called *Orpheus, Priest of Nature.*[19] This was evidently the work of someone intimately acquainted with Williams.[20] The author makes Franklin address Williams in the following terms:

> All hail, illustrious Orpheus, erst my Friend.
> Deliverer from Old Gods, to thee I bend.
> To crown this sapient aera thou wert born,
> This aera which so nobly *I* adorn.
> To combat old religious whims is thine,
> To overturn old governments is mine.
> To laugh at Heaven's dread fires I teach mankind,
> From fires below, do thou set free their mind.

Numerous other celebrities, among them Frederick the Great and Voltaire, and various English statesmen, scientists, artists, musicians, and

[16] Letter to Boardman, London, April 12, 1776, in *Bentleyana, or a Memoir of T. Bentley* (Liverpool, 1851), a brochure of 23 pages, p. 19. It should be noted that the *Liturgy* contained both a morning and an evening service. Smyth, in *Writings,* I, xviii, and X, 540, gives Bentley's name wrongly as Richard, evidently confusing him with the great classical scholar.

[17] See Sir Michael Sadler, *Thomas Day, an English Disciple of Rousseau* (The Rede Lecture for 1928, Cambridge University Press).

[18] Particularly Williams's remark, "I was educated among Saints, and I now live, thank God, among sinners. . . . I declare on the word of a man of honor that of all the sinners I ever met with, the Saints are by far the greatest". *Essays,* p. 25; see the appendix to the second edition, 1774, p. 4. This remark is also referred to in the opening line of the satire *Orpheus, Priest of Nature.*

[19] *Orpheus, Priest of Nature and Prophet of Infidelity, or the Eleusinian Mysteries Revived. A Poem in Three Cantos* (London, 1781). The appellation, Orpheus, Priest of Nature, is traditionally supposed to have been bestowed on Williams by Franklin.

[20] The author was sufficiently well acquainted with Williams to know of Frederick the Great's mistake in addressing him as a knight in his letter of congratulation. The satirist also states that "the first experiments of the Priest of Nature in developing the mysteries of Infidelity were at Franklin's House".

lawyers are made to eulogize the project, but Rousseau, according to the satirist, did not look upon the new religion with favor:

> Rousseau too heard, but felt no heart-felt glee,
> Two madmen, like two Tailors, ne'er agree.
> These doctrines how with patience should he bear;
> They *must* be wrong, if favoured by Voltaire.
> What Friend could in his captious heart find room
> Who for a look alone discarded Hume.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Aulard, also, contrasts the mystical religion of Rousseau with the natural religion embodied in the *Liturgy*.[21] The second extract from the autobiography is therefore given below, for it shows that, in Rousseau's own words, the *Liturgy* "realised one of his highest wishes".

Nevertheless, in spite of the interest of the above persons and of certain titled ladies, concerning whom the author of *Orpheus* is more scurrilous, the attempt to establish the Religion of Nature failed. The American Revolution had caused the withdrawal of Franklin, and Williams encountered financial difficulties. More important, however, in explaining the failure are the facts that the advocates of toleration failed to tolerate each other and that many became atheists. The version given in the autobiography is confirmed by no less an authority than the Abbé Grégoire, to whom Williams had explained personally that the reason his church failed was that many of his followers had gone from deism to atheism, a statement which Grégoire calls "un aveu précieux pour la religion et l'histoire".[22] Nevertheless the influence of the *Liturgy* spread to France, where it profoundly affected the course of the French Revolution. It inspired, at least in part, the worship of Reason and of the Supreme Being in 1793 and 1794, and it was adopted almost in its entirety by the Theophilanthropists in 1797. Indeed, the *Manuel* of Theophilanthropy compiled by Chemin followed the *Liturgy* very closely, even to the extent of inserting a hymn in praise of the seasons.[23]

The second episode in Franklin's life which is dealt with in the following extracts is his flight and hiding in Williams's house in Chelsea, after the famous attack upon him by Wedderburn. The authenticity of this incident has hitherto been questioned. It is true that Franklin's correspondence between early 1774 and early 1775 gives no evidence of

[21] A. Aulard, *La séparation de l'église et de l'état*, Études et leçons sur la Révolution française (sér. 2, Paris, 1898), pp. 147-53.

[22] Abbé Grégoire, *Histoire des sectes religieuses* (Paris, 1814), II, 74 ff.

[23] This aspect is very fully dealt with in Aulard and in Mathiez and is therefore not amplified here.

his being in hiding, but in a letter to Joseph Galloway, dated October 12, 1774, he states: "I have been frequently cautioned to secure my papers, and, by some, advised to withdraw".[24] It should be noted that the reason given by Williams for Franklin's removal to Chelsea was that he was "apprehensive that his papers should be seized". It should be noted also that there are no letters in Smyth between October 12, 1774, the date of the above letter, and January 28, 1775. That Franklin's movements during this period were somewhat mysterious is shown by the rumors, noted by French agents, that he had gone to Switzerland or was going to France.[25] The little, unnecessary details given by Williams of the transference of the trunk by boat from Hungerford Stairs give his account the appearance of authenticity. The best evidence of this, however, is that in later years Williams referred to the incident in conversation with his friends and mentioned it in his public lectures, which were subsequently printed. The anonymous author of the biographical notice in the *Annual Biography* had "heard him mention it in conversation with becoming pride",[26] and in his *Lectures on Education* Williams, who at this period kept a school in Chelsea in the house previously occupied by Mrs. Catharine Macaulay, the celebrated historian so much admired by the French radicals, refers to Franklin's interest in his ways of teaching arithmetic:

> At the time to which I refer a philosopher of considerable fame, whom fortune had forced into politics, took refuge from a political storm in our family, and entered with ease, the characteristic of genius, into several of its employm ts. I observed he was particularly pleased with the early application of ar. metical dexterity to questions of obvious or important use. All these calcu ions on the power of compound interest in annihilating debts or accumulating property were made as amusements, which have since raised political writers into high degrees of reputation.[27]

It is hardly conceivable that Williams would have referred in public to Franklin's hiding in these terms if his hearers had been in a position to contradict him.

The only other references to Franklin and his circle in the manu-

[24] *Writings*, VI, 254.

[25] Archives du ministère des Affaires étrangères, Correspondance politique, Angleterre, vol. 509, ff. 205-206, referred to in Bernard Faÿ, *Benjamin Franklin* (Paris, 1931), II, 134, III, 69.

[26] *Annual Biography, 1818*, II, 23, n.

[27] *Lectures on Education* (London, 1789), III, 24. Franklin, himself, was, of course, much interested in this "political arithmetic". Williams was later (MS. autobiography) very critical of the use made by Condorcet and others of the theory of probability.

script are in connection with the founding of the Literary Fund.[28] It is curious that Franklin should have assisted Williams in his attempt to establish a natural religion but strongly discouraged him in his persistent attempts to establish this fund, which has greatly flourished and has become one of the chief literary institutions in Great Britain.

DAVID WILLIAMS.

University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire.

EXTRACTS FROM DAVID WILLIAMS'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I

Mr. Sergeant Adair . . . induced me to draw up the *Liturgy on the Principles of the Christian Religion,* and some time afterwards to insert Papers in the Public Advertiser called *Essays on Public Worship, Patriotism and Projects of Reformation.* These Essays were reprinted in a pamphlet, of which Dr. Benjamin Franklin purchased and distributed a considerable number. On his presenting one of them to Col. Dawson, Lieut. Gov. of the Isle of Man, the Col said, I suppose you know the Author, Doctor — No, I wish to know him — I can gratify you. The Colonel appointed a day, and Franklin, Dawson, Thomas Bentley and myself commenced a club, over a Neck of Veal and Potatoes, at the Old Slaughter Coffee House, which soon amounted to thirteen, and was never permitted to exceed that number.

At one of the meetings of the Club a religious festival (which I have now forgotten) became the Subject of Conversation, and Franklin, with some emotion, declared he never passed a Church, during Public Service, without regretting that he could not join in it honestly and cordially. He thought it a reproach to Philosophy that it had not a Liturgy and that it skulked from the public Profession of its Principles. Every Member of the Club was much affected at the Doctor's Declaration, and a Day was fixed to consider what might be done on the subject.

On that day, Opinions at considerable length were given, in favour of a philosophical Liturgy by Benjamin Franklin, Col. Dawson, Thomas Bentley, Josiah Wedgwood, James Stuart, John Whitehurst, Dr. Solander and Thomas Day,—and I was requested either to compile or to draw up a Specimen for the consideration of those Members of the Club, who would attend its first reading on a given day, at the Lodgings of Dr. Franklin.

Twelve out of the Thirteen Members attended the perusal and reperusal of the Liturgy which was six times corrected in the Press, and then an Impression ordered of fifteen hundred or two thousand.

If the Period be considered in which this Project was conceived, when the Press governed everything, and the reputation of Dr. Franklin was at a height which scarcely any Talents or Morals could deserve, it will not appear extravagant. Multitudes of Demi-Philosophers would have flocked to have the honor of associating with Dr. Franklin in any form of Worship, and it was probable the effects of it would have been extensive and important. But the approach of the American Revolution mutilated the Plan in embryo.

[28] For this see E. V. Lucas, *David Williams, Founder of the Royal Literary Fund* (London, 1920), a brochure of 34 pages.

The treatment of Dr. Franklin before the Privy Council, and the Publication of Wedderburne's speech stigmatizing him as a Common Firebrand between Britain and the Colonies, greatly affected the public Opinion, shook the resolution of our Theological Projectors, and suspended our undertaking.

It did not however affect the attachment of all the Members of the Club to Franklin, as the annexed Letters will show. [No letters are annexed to the manuscript.]

Franklin, apprehensive that his Papers would be seized, took a Trunk under his Arm, and unknown to the family where he lodged conveyed it by a boat from Hungerford Stairs to my house at Chelsea, where he remained several weeks in perfect privacy and concealed because in the family no concealment was affected, until the Public Pulse was felt, his important Papers were out of danger and himself in a condition to prepare for his departure. On the commencement of hostilities, a spirit of discord pervading the Country affected the little Society formed at Dr. Franklin's and soon dissolved it. I had the Edition of the Liturgy and the Chapel on my hands, and some of the members of the Society were wishing to subscribe or to take Pews, but not to form a body, as had been first proposed, to conduct the Undertaking and to be responsable for the expence.

I deliberated some time whether I should sustain the first Loss, or attempt to recover it, and introduce the Service on my own account. I chose, as usual, the most hazardous Part, and so great was the effect of the Apprehension I have described that on the opening of the Chapel in Margaret Street in consequence of a public Advertisement, no Person gave me ostensible assistance, a hired clerk alone opened the book of Subscriptions in the Vestry, and told the People who crowded into it my Name.

When it was perceived that the Service, so far from offending, was highly approved, those who had previously encouraged, publicly avowed their attachment, and regularly attended it. A new Organisation, as it may be called took place, and officers were appointed who apparently assumed the direction and responsibility of the Undertaking.

Under this direction I conducted the Service and read the Lectures four years, but the Oeconomy of the Managers not having been very attentive, the balance was always on the side of expence, and the Lecturer left without the smallest Compensation.

The undertaking was therefore relinquished.

Many causes, of a public and private nature, contributed to that event.

Those who associated, at the first preparation of the Liturgy were Shaftesburyists, i.e. Deists, acknowledging a Supreme Being, having moral attributes and holding the Immortal spirits of men accountable in a future state.

But these Persons were soon superceded by the Disciples of Helvétius, and the admirers of the *Système de la Nature*. Controversies therefore took place, and introduced in new forms the spirit of Hostility and Intolerance which the general Nature of the Public Service was intended to remove. I had no Person, like Franklin, to assist me in that species of mediation which the occasion required, and in recalling all Parties to the first principles of Universal Toleration, on which the Society had been formed.

Each Party contended for the public acknowledgment of what it denominated the Truth, as religious Sects contend for Orthodoxy, whereas the Society had been originally formed to recognise those principles and maxims of Morals on which all Philosophical and Religious Sectaries had been always united.

The God of Newton was probably the regulating Principle or Good of the Solar System. The God of a Nation or of a Sect is always the Spirit of that Nation or Sect, whatever be its nature. These are local Gods.

What Principles may govern or preserve other Systems we know not, and therefore know not their Gods. It is probable that all the Systems of Nature are governed and preserved by a relative Principle or Law, and that governing Principle is the Universal God.

It is to local Gods, those of various Nations, Sects and Parties that Theologists have generally ascribed the dominion of the Universe, and the ministers of these Gods have imputed to them their own Properties, to sanctify their own Views, and they have justified the imputation by the Sophism "that causes and effects are similar".

It was my wish to direct the attention of the Society to the universal Good, not to the spirit of a Nation or a Party, to the general feelings of our Nature, and the general results of our Organisation, which are ever in harmony with those Circumstances we call Good.

The moral Sense, the principle of Universal Virtue, seems to precede all those comparisons and calculations by which afterwards the preference of Goodness may be demonstrated.

Several members of the Society thought these Principles too refined and were disposed to separate private from public Morality, not perceiving the monstrous Inference that every Individual in a Community may be injured and rendered miserable for the Good of the Whole.

The events of the American War gradually affected the spirit of the Public, and the National God frowned on the votaries of Universal Good and Universal Benevolence.

Prayers and Thanksgivings were offered around us to the Gods of armies, for Rivers of Human Blood. The Moans of Widows and Orphans, the despair of Industry and Labor, whose habitations and Cottages on every side were desolated either by the Soldier or Taxgatherer, I had not the means or the Power of contrasting with the effects of public Virtue, and I had no prospect of support in the attempt from a Society which was extremely disposed to contentions on speculative Propositions.

II

Mr. Thomas Bentley, the Gentleman who contributed principally to the Taste and Elegance which have distinguished Wedgwood's manufactory, was a member of the Society, and those of it who were peculiarly interested in its success generally met for an hour or two every Sunday Evening at the House of Mr. Bentley.

At one of these meetings Bentley said he meant to go to Paris, and had a great desire to be acquainted with Rousseau, which he understood to be a difficulty. But, said he, turning to me, if you will accompany a Copy of your Liturgy with a few Lines I think I shall surmount it. . . .

At Paris, Bentley hastened with his Books to the Garret of Rousseau. Madame Rousseau opened the door, and said he saw no Company. "I am an Englishman", said Bentley, "and I bring some books for Mr. Rousseau". "So much the worse", replied Madame R., "for he never reads books". "Will you permit me, Madame, to leave them and to call tomorrow morning". "If you chuse to be at the trouble, but I assure you he will not see you".

The next morning Bentley mounted the long staircase with very little

hope. He found the Door open and Rousseau extending his Arms towards him, in his warm and passionate manner. "He worships the God of the Universe in the open air, I hope, Sir; he does not coop him in a House or Church".

B. Our climate will not admit of assembling in the open air.

R. Very well. Tell W. it is a consolation to my heart that he has realised one of my highest Wishes—and that I am one of his most devoted Disciples.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge. By KARL MANNHEIM, The London School of Economics and Political Science. With a Preface by Louis Wirth. Translated from the German by Louis Wirth and Edward Shils. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1936. Pp. xxxi, 318. $4.00.)

PROFESSOR Wirth and his collaborator, Mr. Edward Shils, have given us an admirable translation of Mannheim's challenging book. The preface, contributed by Professor Wirth, is of considerable help to the reader in explaining the intellectual situation in Europe out of which arose the problem Mannheim attempts to solve. Mannheim himself exposes the situation as follows. In the course of economic-political struggle one party, the Marxist, took the stand that its opponents looked on the world through the spectacles of their vested interests. This was not a new accusation, but it was given a new and deeper significance by the Marxists, being applied not merely to the defense of interests but to the entire conceptual framework of their opponents. That framework, according to the Marxists, was the product not of clear-eyed observation or rational thinking but of interest-determined outlook. In short, it was an "ideology". But the charge of ideology was double-edged. Presently the same mode of attack was directed against those who initiated it. If the anti-Marxists were the intellectual prisoners of their social situation, the Marxists might be no less the prisoners of the obverse situation. If the Marxists "unmasked" their opponents by exposing the relative ground of their absolute convictions, they might be also "unmasked" in their turn. For the "ideology" they attacked they substituted a "utopian" philosophy. Both parties had resorted to "wishful thinking", as it has been less pretentiously called by one of our own sociologists. In fact, by the same reasoning, every school of thought is tainted with relativity. If so, where can we look for "objective" truth. In the social sciences certainly we cannot take refuge in "value-free" realities, if such are to be found, for then we leave behind the very subject matter of the social sciences.

Mannheim suggests that this relative or situational thinking penetrates into the whole structure of knowledge. On this basis he elaborates the idea of a "crisis" in modern thought, a new uncertainty and instability with respect to the very logic of thinking. But he regards this postulated crisis as a stage to be overcome, a stimulus to a further advance towards truth.

And the discipline whose business it is to assure this advance is the "sociology of knowledge".

So his book is entitled an introduction to *Wissenssoziologie*. We proceed hopefully to discover the way in which it can help us out of the dilemma. We look for an analysis of the problem, concrete illustrations, applications. Instead, we are offered something much less satisfactory.

The volume skirts all round the problem but never engages it. We are told that the process of "unmasking" has "culminated in the collapse of confidence in thought in general". We are given a number of dubious or unsupported historical generalizations, such as that "politics . . . tends increasingly to become a life-and-death struggle" (p. 34). When we think of the description given by Thucydides of politics in Greece in the fifth century B. C., we wonder how our author arrived at this conclusion. We are given a series of skillful reflections on the situational character of various political modes of thinking, the bureaucratic, the liberal-bourgeois, the fascist, and the communist. We are given the optimistic verdict that a science of politics is for the first time not only realizable but realized, since it is now possible, so we are told, to integrate opposing theories into a comprehensive whole (p. 132). The Hegelian element in Mannheim's own Marxism emerges in the vision of a "total perspective which embraces all points of view" (p. 154), though the ancient mystery of how to "integrate" variegated partisan doctrines into one nonpartisan science remains as profound as before. The integration of many errors into one truth, dearly beloved in principle by our modern Hegelians, surely pertains to the realm of alchemy or magic. But Mannheim here pins his faith on the intelligentsia as a relatively detached group whose function it is to perform this feat (pp. 136 ff.). One might suggest that insofar as the intelligentsia detaches itself from the idols of the tribe, it is not by setting up and worshipping a greater composite idol.

Mannheim's argument at this point depends on a thesis that I find somewhat puzzling and wholly dangerous. He tells us very emphatically that "the social equation is not always a source of error" (p. 153). On the contrary it more frequently reveals some otherwise neglected aspect of truth. But when we eagerly look for some criterion by which to judge what is truth and what is error in the socially determined deliverance, we are given nothing but vague reflections on the need for an enlarged perspective. It is of course obvious that to understand a social event we must know how it came about, and that to understand what people meant in their social philosophies we must know the circumstances under which they formulated them. But what this has to do with the claim of validity or truth we cannot see, and Mannheim's brief and obscure justification of his position leaves us bewildered. He says we must break down the dualism between "validity" and "existence" (p. 263). What does this mean? Does

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it imply that a doctrine is more true because someone holds it? Or because it came into existence in a certain way? Why is it "dualism" if we deny the identity of differences? If "validity" does not *mean* "existence", where and why the "dualism"?

It is a pity that Mannheim does not analyze a single case to show the relation between the genesis of a doctrine and its truth. The whole discussion is conducted on a level of high generality. It is of course an old reflection that our modes of thinking reflect our social conditions. The Marx-Engels school gave a new and more positive character to this reflection. They claimed that certain economic relations were dominant determinants of the modes of knowing of those subjected to them. Some of these claims were very hazardous because no adequate methodology was developed to trace the imputed nexus. Thus Engels stated that Calvin's doctrine of predestination was the religious reflection of the fact "that in the world of competitive trade success or bankruptcy does not depend on the fitness of the individual but on circumstances that he cannot control" (*Die neue Zeit,* I, 43). What we need for scientific purposes is not *ipse dixits* of this type but careful investigations of the postulated causality. By the use of appropriate historical methods it would be possible to show at least the probability of such derivations as this categorical pronouncement of Engels—which, incidentally, is of a character very congenial to Mannheim's own philosophy. But even were the most extreme assertions of the domination of intellectual processes by the economic factors demonstrable, what would follow? What conclusions could we draw from such demonstrations regarding the *validity* of the doctrines thus derived? If what we are seeking to learn is how the perspective of social position affects our judgments of reality, that is an important task for historical sociology. If it is the relation between the social conditions of a group at a given time and its intellectual habits, that is itself a scientific objective, though we will not reach it by a priori assertions. But Mannheim proclaims the "sociology of knowledge" as something far transcending the study of historically determined approaches. He regards it as a scientific instrument for the discovery of the reality which these approaches purport to interpret. He speaks of the "growing methodological refinements in the sociology of knowledge". We wish he had revealed to us what they are. We wish he had applied them to the illumination of even a single case. Lacking that, we may be excused for not yet putting out our flags to greet the arrival of the much heralded "sociology of knowledge".

Columbia University. R. M. MacIver.

Het Onvoltooid Verleden: Kultuurhistorische Studies. By Jan Romein. (Amsterdam: Em. Querido. 1937. Pp. 281. 3.50 fl.)

Accident and predetermination combine in shaping the history of man.

The author illustrates this thought in picturesque fashion by comparing the world to a billiard table. Cloth, cushions, and balls will determine the course of the ivories when once the shot has been made. But the variable element, the shot itself, has also its share in the shaping of their course; to the observer it is the paramount factor. When the shot has been made, the ensuing run of the balls is predetermined by the conditions of cloth, cushions, and balls. The player, knowing these conditions, will include them in the calculations that govern his shot. Accident, the variable element of the player's shot, and predetermination form an unbreakable oneness in the historical process.

If this simile be to the point, then the part of the predetermined and constant conditions is of equal importance with that of the variable, personal element. It will not do to throw all the light on the players in the game of life and explain, let us say, Napoleon's success as having been due exclusively to his skill as a player. The historian's task is to explain why a given shot must lead to such or such a result. The search for constant determinants in the forces that shape man's history is a worthwhile undertaking. One such constant is the phenomenon of the retarding effect of an early start. The Dutch Republic was at one time ahead of England both industrially and commercially, and Amsterdam, in those days, was the financial center of Europe. But when the industrial revolution came, it occurred in England, not in the Netherlands, whose commercial capitalism had advanced to a point at which it could not revise its highly developed mechanism. Perfection results in torpor. Progress is not a process of unbroken evolution but involves repeated retrogression from an advanced position to a new point of departure for a different direction. The telegraph and cable companies did not invent or utilize the telephone, and neither they nor the telephone companies promoted wireless telegraphy, and these four together took no part in the invention and development of radio. In biology the same phenomenon is observed. The new formations do not continue the latest developments but issue from a more backward part that has remained undeveloped. The branch does not grow to indefinite length; new growths sprout from buds lower down. This law of retrogenesis applies to history as well as biology.

The essays here assembled cover subjects as far apart in time and space as the decline of Rome and the rise of Oriental studies in the Netherlands, early Teuton art and machine worship in Soviet Russia, peasants and monks in the Middle Ages and the character of the Dutch people. The red thread that binds them together is the attempt to write history from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism, not of phases of the past but of the changing conceptions of what those phases were in the minds of successive generations. That is the meaning of its title, "The Uncompleted Past". Our picture of the past is never finished; it needs revising by the constantly

changing present. The application of the law of retrogenesis to history is one instance of a present-day attempt to repaint the inherited picture.

Columbia University. A. J. Barnouw.

L'alfabeto nella storia della civiltà. By David Diringer. Con Preliminari di Guido Mazzoni. (Florence: G. Barbèra. 1937. Pp. lxvii, 800. Plates 327. 150 l.)

Historians are interested in the art of writing not only because it furnishes them with indispensable historical sources, but also because it is per se a vital factor in the development of civilization. As Diringer says, ' vriting . . . is of fundamental importance for every spiritual progress of n ankind", even though it is less universal and less essential than language. But in spite of the title of his book, he does not investigate the place of the alphabet in the history of civilization—a problem that has not yet received as much attention as it deserves—but rather the history of the art of writing and especially of the alphabet.

Within the covers of this instructive volume Diringer has condensed the available information about practically all systems of writing, ancient and modern. In an introductory section he deals with the origins of the art of writing. In Part I he describes the ideographic (Egyptian, cuneiform, Mohenjo Daro, Cretan, hieroglyphic Hittite, Chinese, Easter Island, etc.), the syllabic (Cypriote, Japanese, Vai), and the quasi-alphabetic (cuneiform Persian, Meroitic) scripts. In Part II he discusses the origin of the "Phoenician" alphabet and its alleged connections with other ancient writings, such as the Ras Shamra, the Proto-Sinaitic, the undeciphered script of Byblos, etc. In Part III he traces the evolution of alphabetic scripts derived from the "Phoenician" alphabet: the South Arabian, Ethiopic, Greek, Etruscan, and Italic; the Roman alphabet is now conquering the world (pp. 331-546). Excursus I deals with the scripts of the American continent (American Indian and Maya), Excursus II with the various scripts of India, Excursus III with oriental enigmatic scripts. The names of the Roman letters, the origin of "Arabic" numerals, and epigraphic forgeries (such as the "Dighton Rock" in Massachusetts and the Runic [?] inscription on the Island of Monhegan, Maine) are discussed in the final part.

Dr. Diringer, who is the author of a standard work on the ancient Hebrew Palestinian inscriptions (*Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi,* 1934), is particularly interested in the origin and development of the "Phoenician" alphabet, from which our own is utimately derived. The conclusions reached by him with regard to the origin of this, the most important of all scripts, are strangely similar to those reached independently by Hans Bauer (*Der Ursprung des Alphabets,* 1937). Diringer believes that when it was invented, probably in the eighteenth century B.C., this alphabet was practically identical with that of the Akhiram inscription of

the thirteenth or twelfth century. The form of the letters was not derived from any of the scripts in use at the time or from pictographs representing an ox (*aleph,* ', Greek A), a house (*beth,* B), a camel (*gimel,* G), etc. The letters are merely twenty-two conventional signs, chosen more or less at random to represent the consonants of Hebrew-Phoenician. This simple and sensible theory has much in its favor.

The well-selected bibliographical references (which do not take into account publications that appeared after 1935, when the manuscript was completed), the numerous tables and illustrations, and the exhaustive index make the book an excellent manual for quick reference. It is also a lucid presentation of the results of patient research within the field of the author's own specialty, North Semitic epigraphy.

Harvard University. ROBERT H. PFEIFFER.

The Book: The Story of Printing & Bookmaking. By DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE. (New York: Covici Friede. 1937. Pp. xxx, 676. $5.00.)

IT is a little curious that no comprehensive history of printing has hitherto been available. The older books which undertook the task are far from satisfactory either in accuracy or in treatment. The subject is vast and intricate, and those who have attempted to write the story have usually been bibliographers with deficient knowledge of the craft or printers who were not scholars. Following on the early general histories came innumerable monographs on individual printers, on the activities of the press in various places, and on the printer's types, many of them exhaustive examinations of source material valuable to the writer of a general history but unavailable or uninteresting for the lay reader.

In 1927 Mr. McMurtrie, who has contributed scores of studies or summaries on various phases of printing history, attempted to supply a book for the general reader which should tell the history of the press. This volume, *The Golden Book,* provided a popular treatise but an inadequate one. His latest volume, now under review, goes much further toward giving us a history of printing. In some ways it goes too far. The seven parts into which it is divided cover not alone the printed book but consider the whole subject of recording thought by means of written or printed symbols. This is a vast undertaking. Parts of it have already been brilliantly covered in separate and easily procurable books—such as Professor Carter's account of printing in the Far East.

The Book, despite what seems like an extravagance of plan, is of importance. With respect to the beginnings of writing, to the development of the alphabet, and to some phases of bookbinding (such, for instance, as the provenience of the Grolier bindings) new light is thrown on the usually accepted theories. The account of the European invention of printing receives very full treatment, with rather more detail than a general reader

will care for, but the statement of what the best modern scholars consider to be Gutenberg's claim is clear and valuable. The author here as elsewhere has summarized the latest information contained in scientific and learned journals not easily consulted.

Mr. McMurtrie's acquaintance with the craft of printing, as well as his knowledge of its printed history, has enabled him to write a volume which may be recommended for popular reading. It is accurate and is the first adequate treatment of the subject as a whole which we have had. There is a voluminous reading list, conveniently arranged by chapters, and an index. The illustrations are numerous and, in general, printed properly from zinc-line reproductions. The style could have been improved by pruning away many of the adjectives.

New Haven. CARL P. ROLLINS.

The Papacy and World-Affairs as reflected in the Secularization of Politics. By CARL CONRAD ECKHARDT, Professor of History in the University of Colorado. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 310. $4.00.)

"IN medieval international relations", says Professor Eckhardt, "canon law and the decisions of the pope were the only authority. . . . The popes were the judges of the law between sovereigns; they gave orders to terminate wars and to submit the disputes in question to the papal tribunal." But in 1929 by the Lateran Accord, whereby the temporal sovereignty was regained and the "Roman question" was settled, the papacy agreed to "remain extraneous to all temporal disputes between nations and to international congresses convoked for the settlement of such disputes unless the contending parties make a concordant appeal to its mission of peace."

The transition from the first of these conditions to the second is what the author means by the secularization of politics. The turning point in that process he finds in the Peace of Westphalia, for it was in making the treaties which ended the Thirty Years' War that the Catholic sovereigns for the first time, decisively and unanimously, ignored the intervention of Rome and settled by the processes of secular diplomacy not only the issues between the secular states but those involving the privileges and property of the church. Secular states had threatened to take that course long before, and individual states had done so, but it was at this point that the scale decisively tipped and the "secularization" of world politics became effective. The papacy and its spokesmen long continued to protest not only against such specific provisions as granting the adherents of the Augsburg Confession "the free exercise of their heresy in many places" (Brief, *Zelo Domus Dei,* 1650), the secularization of many ecclesiastical territories, and the addition of a "heretic" to the number of the electors of the empire, but also against the general principle that treaties could be made which in any way

affected the claims of the church without the sanction of the Holy See.

Professor Eckhardt's most intensive research has been done upon the Peace of Westphalia and the period immediately surrounding it. To the knowledge of this field he makes a valuable contribution. For what precedes and follows he has made careful selection from printed materials which were already available, though many of them not easily accessible. The documentation is thorough; a bibliography of more than 25 pages lists all significant sources. The author conscientiously abstains from passing judgments either for or against papal participation in world politics. At the end, however, he ventures the opinion—which surely will not be challenged—that in surrendering the claim to rule a state of considerable size the Holy See escaped the danger of subordinating spiritual to secular interests and gained an increased moral influence.

The University of Chicago. W. E. Garrison.

The Miracle of England: An Account of her Rise to Pre-eminence and Present Position. By André Maurois. Translated by Hamish Miles. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1937. Pp. xiii, 500. $3.75.)

A History of England and the British Empire. By Walter Phelps Hall and Robert Greenhalgh Albion, Princeton University, with the Collaboration of Jennie Barnes Pope. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1937. Pp. vi, 988. $4.60.)

A History of England. By W. Freeman Galpin, Syracuse University. (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1938. Pp. xvi, 843. $4.25.)

A History of England. By Frederick George Marcham, Cornell University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. x, 975. $4.25.)

A Political and Social History of England. By Frederick C. Dietz, University of Illinois. Third Edition. (*Ibid.* Pp. xxii, 813. $3.50.)

The Development of the British Empire. By Howard Robinson, The Ohio State University. Revised and Enlarged Edition. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1936. Pp. xiii, 530, xxviii. $3.00.)

History of England. By W. E. Lunt, Haverford College. Revised Edition. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. xvi, 920. $4.25.)

History of England. By George Macaulay Trevelyan, University of Cambridge, with chronological outline by William Huse Dunham, jr. New and Enlarged Edition. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1937. Pp. xxii, 756. $4.00. Part III is published separately for $1.75.)

Among the new books in this barrage of works on English history *The Miracle of England* has an aim different from all the rest: it was not written to be placed in the hands of undergraduates as a textbook. With the clarity and objectivity that distinguish so much of French historical writing and the sympathetic insight derived from his long studies of Eng-

lish life and thought, Maurois, in seventy-nine brief chapters grouped into seven books, traces the history of England from its remotest origins to the accession of George VI. The British Empire comes into the picture only in relation to the internal history of England, Scotland and Ireland are seldom mentioned, and there is less regarding Continental European affairs than one might expect. These omissions are deliberate. The task which the author set himself he has performed with wisdom and understanding. Here and there may be found erroneous statements, such, for example, as that the second Prayer Book of Edward VI proscribed kneeling, but they are not serious. As a piece of interpretive narration, beautifully written, this book deserves to be widely read.

Professors Hall and Albion open their *History of England and the British Empire* with a word picture of heavily armed Roman soldiers jumping from their galleys some few miles to the north of Dover and end it with the speech broadcast by Edward VIII a few hours after his abdication. The whole book is exceptionally well written, easy to read, and illuminated with numerous picturesque passages; even the titles of the chapters have an appeal: Common Law and Crusading, Beyond the Border, The New Wealth, Imperial Apathy. A careful reading of the first few chapters reveals a considerable number of inaccurate or misleading statements, the cumulative effect of which is to convey an impression of marked carelessness. These could be corrected with no great difficulty. More serious is the failure of the authors to give an adequate account of the Tudor constitution, with the result that when one proceeds to the chapters dealing with the Stuarts one has no background for an understanding of the contest between parliament and the crown. These chapters, by the way, are written from an unswervingly puritan-parliamentarian point of view, with no hint that Charles I had at least half the statute book and half the people of England on his side. Authors of textbooks are fully warranted in giving their interpretation of the events they chronicle; yet it is to be regretted when they fail to show that there is evidence to be weighed on the other side. And this, in my judgment, is a grave flaw in what is in many respects an excellent piece of work.

Less distinguished in style is Professor Galpin's text, a serviceable narrative written primarily with a view to the needs of the American student. Military and naval history are all but ignored, political and constitutional development is not allowed to overshadow social and intellectual activities. The reference to St. Patrick as "a well-born Roman Britain", the phrase "the barony of France", the date 1553 for Henry VIII's second marriage, are slips that the proofreader should have caught. But who was the "Bishop of Bradwardine" mentioned on page 246? "England Loses its Continental Empire" is a strange caption for an account of John's loss of Normandy; and there seems some confusion in these sentences anent the Becket con-

troversy: "To Henry the thought that a clerk of the Church, one whose duties were largely clerical and whose reputation may have been none too good, should be allowed to hide behind the Church for the violation of laws against murder, was as absurd as it was illogical. Why should a clerk of the Church escape the punishment which was inflicted upon one of his own clerks?" This, it must be pointed out, is by no means typical. By and large Galpin has written a clear, matter-of-fact, narrative and one that seems well adapted to the use of rather immature students. His treatment of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries seems to the reviewer to be somewhat ill-arranged, but the task of combining chronological and topical treatments is not an easy one. There should, however, have been no insurmountable difficulty in finding place for Gladstone's Irish policy before rather than after the Treaty of Versailles.

In his preface Professor Marcham states, disarmingly: "a reader may take his choice among half a dozen good English histories. The success of these authors has encouraged me to enjoy the pleasure of setting forth my own version of English history." And, let it be said at once, there is one reader, at least, who is grateful to Professor Marcham for doing so. He has woven into his narrative discussions of varied phases of life and thought with unusual success—informal essays on matters social and cultural alternating with his treatment of constitutional and political development—in such wise that one is not overwhelmed by a mass of irrelevant detail, while, on the other hand, judgments and decisions are not hurled at the reader with insufficient evidence in their support. Certainly this must be considered as one of the best single volume histories of England.

The other volumes, the titles of which are given above, are new and revised editions of works that have already demonstrated their worth. Professor Dietz, whose *Political and Social History of England* is valuable especially for its economic emphasis and its examination of changes in industry and agriculture, has not only brought his narrative down to the year 1937 but discusses in some detail the problems created by the business depressions of the present decade. The revised and enlarged edition of Professor Robinson's *The Development of the British Empire* will be welcomed particularly for its treatment of the empire since the close of the war; this, it should be noted, has involved revision of the later chapters of the earlier edition in the light of subsequent developments. Of Professor Lunt's *History of England,* so widely used and highly rated by members of the teaching profession, nothing need be said save that those who have been eagerly waiting for a new edition will be in no way disappointed now that it has appeared. In the revision of Trevelyan's *History* four chapters take the place of the epilogue; the reviewer regrets that the last chapter closes with the year 1919.

Washington and Jefferson College. ALFRED H. SWEET.

An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Westmorland. [Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1936. Pp. lxviii, 302. $7.75.)

An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Middlesex. [Royal Commission.] (*Ibid.* 1937. Pp. xxxv, 176. $6.65.)

It is difficult to overestimate the value of the series to which these volumes belong. Every earthwork, every mound that indicates human activity at some time, every house, barn, or bridge, everything, in fact, that has anything about it earlier than 1714 is described in detail as to its antique parts. Wells and garden walls, even old pigeon houses and the initials cut on a yew tree, are mentioned. One could go over the town of Grasmere, for example, in the volume on Westmorland and put one's self back in the sixteenth or seventeenth century, and one could do the same for every village or town in the county. In Middlesex the invasion of the country by dormitories for London has destroyed much, not only countless old buildings but even dykes and earthworks. The authors, however, have been at pains to include the testimony of the old antiquaries such as Leland, Camden, Aubrey, and Norden about such markings on the landscape.

The descriptions of the churches are models of information. Ground plans of each church are given, with shadings to indicate the ages of the several parts of the fabric and with learned and precise description of every bit of wood and stone that has architectural or historical significance. Where the names on monuments have disappeared there has, wisely I think, been little or no effort to discover the lost lettering. I have observed a slight inconsistency in the Middlesex volume. The grave of Charles Read in Wembley churchyard is mentioned, but there is no other mention of men buried in churchyards, such as Thomas and Matthew Arnold at Laleham. The policy of not recording graves outside the church is probably a wise one, and yet it means leaving out many famous names and some notable epitaphs. The epitaph on Dicky Pearce in Berkeley churchyard, Gloucestershire, is part of history, and so are many others.

There is in each of these volumes an alphabetical description of armorial bearings, a glossary of the meaning of technical terms, and an index that is beyond praise. It is by the study of the indexes that one best comes to an understanding of the value of these volumes. Alabaster effigies, for example, are indexed under proper names, under centuries, and under parishes. Brackets, ceilings, coffin lids, communion rails, communion tables, crosses, earthworks, funeral effigies, fireplaces and overmantels, fonts, furniture, gatehouses, glass, houses, inns, iron-work, lead-work, merchants' marks, monastic and collegiate buildings—all such subjects and many others are indexed in the same thorough way. When all the counties of England

have been studied in this way, it would be extremely useful to have a composite index.

The illustrations deserve remark. The scores of plates include churches and church interiors, church monuments, church roofs, castles and their interiors, barns, pieces of furniture, field systems and earthworks, almost as many kinds of historical material as are to be found in the index. They are beautiful pieces of photography.

Yale University. WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

A History of Peaceful Change in the Modern World. By C. R. M. F. CRUTTWELL. [Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. 221. $3.00.)

Peaceful Change: A Study of International Procedures. By FREDERICK SHERWOOD DUNN, Yale Institute of International Studies. (New York: Council on Foreign Relations. 1937. Pp. vii, 156. $1.50.)

THESE books are both products of the International Studies Conference on Peaceful Change held under the auspices of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris during the summer of 1937. The fact that such a conference was held indicates a growing conviction that international law and organization have not been sufficiently dynamic. Doubtless the speed of technological, economic, social, and political change makes the lag of legal change continually more disturbing. To recognize the existence of the problem, however, is not to solve it, as these volumes amply evidence.

Mr. Cruttwell does not attempt a precise definition of either "peaceful" or "change" but presents a brief history of many cases during the past century involving disputes about boundaries, cessions of territory, status, and creation or extinction of sovereignty. His review indicates that usually there have been threats of force or a general appreciation of the existence of potential force behind demands for change even when force has not been actually resorted to. Thus the line between peaceful and nonpeaceful change is not easy to draw. The more important the interests involved, the more difficult it has been to avoid actual force. The writer reaches the conclusion that peaceful change "has been more common in the nineteenth than in preceding centuries" because of the more serious character of war and the greater need of popular support for war (p. 210). These same factors have played an increasing role in the twentieth century, and it seems probable that if peaceful change is defined as including cases where potential, but not actual, force played a part, the same trend has continued.

It is in the sphere of peaceful change, we are told, that "the advantages of secret diplomacy are most obvious" (p. 211). The rise of intense nationalism, buttressed by propaganda, has increased the difficulty of diplomatic accommodation (p. 213), but the procedures of the League of

Nations and the improvements in the "techniques and international character of the plebiscite" have, together with the increasing reluctance to resort to war, served in part to compensate for this greater difficulty (p. 214).

Professor Dunn's book attempts a much more fundamental analysis of the problem, emphasizing particularly the impossibility of genuine peaceful change as long as states are dependent for their security upon their national defenses and the balance of power. Under conditions of power politics important changes are certain to be interpreted as a yielding to force, and the state which yields will be in a weaker position to withstand the next demand, whereas the demander's position will be strengthened. Collective security, is, therefore, a prerequisite of peaceful change (p. 13). Professor Dunn, besides examining the role of power politics, prestige, and national honor in the problem, devotes much attention to the role of such economic factors as the distribution of raw materials and of population pressures, with the conclusion, however, that these are less important than the political factors (p. 130).

The possibilities of procedures of negotiation, conciliation, conference, commissions of inquiry, adjudication, and resort to Article 19 of the League Covenant, are discussed, but these procedures are all voluntary while "the things to be changed are for the most part things which are highly valued, and not willingly given up by existing holders" (p. 125). As a consequence the only circumstances in which proposals for change are likely to be seriously considered is where the demanding state obviously has power to enforce its will or where that state arouses the interest of the community by threats of war. In the opinion of Professor Dunn, writing in 1937, after the rejection of the Hoare-Laval proposal but before the ousting of Anthony Eden from the British foreign office, "the proposal to placate dissatisfied powers or bribe them into keeping the peace by yielding to their demands, one by one, appears to be fully discredited" (p. 129). He thinks that transfers of colonies would not help the situation, though it might be worth while to establish an international colonial administration in which all countries participated. He also suggests a commission, resembling that already set up for controlling the narcotics trade, for a more equitable distribution of raw materials, a liberalization of credit to make it easier for states to buy raw materials abroad which they propose to manufacture for sale abroad, and above all, a general liberalization of international trade, perhaps with the aid of an independent economic organization, related to the League of Nations as is the International Labor Organization. These proposals, similar to those of the Van Zeeland Report, encounter the difficulty, as Mr. Dunn recognizes, that states, particularly the "dissatisfied states", are more interested in augmenting their political power than in promoting their economic welfare.

Assuming that peaceful change must, in the immediate future, rely on persuasion rather than coercion, Professor Dunn urges a separation of procedures for peaceful change from procedures for settling disputes, in order that the psychological antagonisms aroused by the idea of a "dispute" may be eliminated. He suggests that nonpolitical national commissions might investigate and report to their governments upon specific proposals for change without publicity. Such commissions might keep in contact with similar commissions from all other countries involved. From their consultations the nature of the special and general interests involved might be elucidated and agreements reached on technical grounds without arousing national sentiment. Bearing in mind, however, Professor Dunn's own emphasis upon the importance of the power and prestige element in the problem, it seems optimistic to expect much from this procedure where territories or other interests deemed important are involved.

It may be that the problem of peaceful change can be logically distinguished from that of normal pacific settlement as well as from those of international legislation and security against aggression, but these problems are, in reality, only aspects of the broad problem of international organization. They are so closely related that it seems unlikely that progress can be made toward the solution of one except as progress is made toward the solution of all the others. The basic problem in international relations is to develop legal and political agencies and procedures for solving international economic, social, and political problems as rapidly as the technological integration of the world augments the seriousness of those problems. These two books present a most valuable introduction to this basic problem of contemporary international relations.

The University of Chicago. QUINCY WRIGHT.

Limits of Land Settlement: A Report on Present-Day Possibilities. Prepared under the direction of ISAIAH BOWMAN, President of the Johns Hopkins University. (New York: Council on Foreign Relations. 1937. Pp. vii, 380. $3.50.)

MORE than a decade ago President Bowman, then director of the American Geographical Society of New York, inaugurated a comprehensive program of studies of the "pioneer belts" or frontier regions of the world either in process of settlement or available for colonization in the near future. Two volumes, *The Pioneer Fringe* (1931) by Dr. Bowman himself and *Pioneer Settlement* (1932), a co-operative work, aroused keen interest in all countries where the occupation of new lands constitutes a problem, and in Canada many of Dr. Bowman's ideas are bearing fruit in the notable series, "Canadian Frontiers of Settlement". *Limits of Land Settlement* represents a further development along the same general line of thought.

Ten writers have contributed papers to this important volume: C. O.

Sauer, "The Prospect for Redistribution of Population"; C. L. Alsberg, "The Food Supply in the Migration Process"; W. A. Mackintosh, "Canada as an Area for Settlement"; Bruce Hopper, "Population Factors in Soviet Siberia"; Owen Lattimore, "The Mainsprings of Asiatic Migration"; Chen Han-Seng, "The Present Prospect of Chinese Emigration"; K. J. Pelzer, "Japanese Migration and Colonization"; and Griffith Taylor, J. H. Wellington, and Isaiah Bowman, "Possibilities of Settlement in Australia", "Africa", and "South America", respectively. There is a selected bibliography of thirty-two pages by K. L. Pelzer and sixty-five clean-cut maps in black and white. Reviewing the ten contributions, Dr. Bowman states the general conclusion that migration to new lands offers no real solution of the problem of "so-called overpopulation. . . . No discernible or predictable stream of migration can keep pace with the birth rates of conspicuously overcrowded countries."

Although the volume deals mainly with the economic and geographical aspects of contemporary problems, it presents, nevertheless, certain interpretations of past events that are of historical interest. Alsberg, for example, points out that price cycles may have been almost as influential as weather cycles in bringing about the advance and retreat of the boundary between cropland and pastureland in Asia. Lattimore and Chen Han-Seng attribute the ebb and flow of migration movements in Asia rather more to fluctuations in "the vigor and adaptibility of capital enterprise" than to changes in climate or in the adaptibility of race.

Sauer's stimulating introductory chapter also deals largely with historical themes. He writes:

> In our continent we have come to the end of the "new" land. If we have reached this condition elsewhere in the world, or are approaching it, we may very well have come to the end of what we have been pleased to call modern history. For purposes of this discussion the thesis is set up that we have just ended one great period of history which may be dated as extending from 1492 to 1918. . . . This period saw the greatest migrations of man since Neolithic times and was marked by his most rapid increase. The expansion was due principally to the invasion of lands of lower and weakly resistant cultures by overflow from higher, aggressive cultures.

He goes on to show in broad outlines how this expansion has been correlated with the exploitation of minerals, the spread of crops and agricultural techniques, the decimation of native peoples, etc., and how "this greatest population movement of all times [has] . . . sadly overreached itself", with the result that "large parts of North America, Australia, South Africa, and southern South America have become problem areas as to the possibility of maintenance of their population". Broadly speaking, however, it is Sauer's opinion that "the population of the world has become sedentary permanently, that most of its inhabitants are where they belong". What will be

the outcome of the passing of the world frontiers he does not try to foretell, but his thesis suggests an extension to the world as a whole of Turner's theory of the effect of the passing of the American frontier in the nineties on internal conditions in the United States.

American Geographical Society. JOHN K. WRIGHT.

ANCIENT HISTORY

Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: United States of America, The Robinson Collection, Baltimore, Md. Fascicule 2. By DAVID MOORE ROBINSON, with the assistance of SARAH ELIZABETH FREEMAN. [Union académique internationale.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1937. Pp. 38. Plates LI. $5.00.)

Sigillate Pottery of the Roman Empire; from Excavations in Spain, made chiefly by the President of the Hispanic Society of America at Italica. By ALICE WILSON FROTHINGHAM. (New York: Hispanic Society of America. 1937. Pp. XXX, 61. Plates XXXVIII. $1.00.)

EVEN among the American contributions to the *Corpus Vasorum*, which have a high standard of production, the new fascicule of the Robinson Collection can claim a place of distinction. The plates are admirable and the commentary exhaustive. Technique, stage of preservation, subject matter, style, date, and attribution are discussed in careful and scholarly manner. Occasionally the wealth of parallel material becomes actually cumbersome like that of an encyclopedia article. The fascicule contains vases by some of the best Greek draftsmen, such as Oltos, Epiktetos, Panaitios, and others, which are already known and famous. In addition there is a group of vases not previously known, most of them from a cemetery at Vari in Attica. Miss Freeman's attribution of these to the various painters distinguished by Beazley seems in general convincing. I hesitate, however, to accept the attribution of the kylix (pl. XIX) to the Pistoxenos Painter; the drawing of eyes and figure seems different from his work. The new attribution to the Painter of Naples Hephaistos is also perhaps questionable. Among the mythological representations we note as particularly interesting one of Midas judging Silenus, one of Theseus and Poseidon, and one of the death of Orpheus. The scenes of daily life include top-spinning, a *hoplodromia*, and a *lampadodromia*. One of the vases, which shows a man in female garments, is interpreted as representing a participant in the procession of the *Skirophoria*, in accordance with Buschor's view, but the man does not carry an umbrella and seems more like a Dionysus. Here a reference to Deubner (*Attische Feste*, Berlin, 1932, pp. 132 f.) would not have been amiss; he connects such vases with the *Lenaia*. Mistakes of interpretation are few, but I should call the god shown on plate XXIX Dionysus; and

in plate XXXIII, 1 c, the youth is playing a cithara, not a lyre. The youthful hunter pursuing a maiden (pl. XLIV) may be Orion.

Mrs. Frothingham's little monograph is a Janus, with one face turned toward the general public and the other toward the specialized scholar. Of the two the general public fares better, for the general introduction is apparently written with this type of reader in mind, and the book will render excellent service as a guide to the small collection of Roman pottery from Spain in the possession of the Hispanic Society. Special students of sigillate pottery will find the volume less helpful, for there are no drawings of the profiles of the vases or of the decoration, and the photographs, good as most of them are, cannot make up for this omission. Mrs. Frothingham divides her material into three sections: the first comprises the Arretine and Italian wares, the second, pottery from southern Gaul, and the third, what the author considers imported pottery from central Gaul. Most of the attributions in the first two sections are acceptable enough, but as H. Comfort (*A. J. A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 187 ff.) has already pointed out, the vases of the third section are of native Spanish make.

Harvard University. GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN.

The World of Hesiod: A Study of the Greek Middle Ages, c. 900-700 B. C. By ANDREW ROBERT BURN, Assistant-Master at Uppingham School, Sometime Scholar of Christ Church. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1937. Pp. xv, 263. $3.50.)

THE development of sociological and psychological inquiry within the past century has raised rather sharply the problems of the dynamics of social change. As the author of this book seems fully aware, these problems are important, even vital, for any attempt to appraise in contemporary intellectual terms the primary movements of the Greek world and particularly so important a period of transition as that under review. As a collection of evidence for the period the book is invaluable. The author deals fully with Greek society of the period not only from the "external point of view conventional with historians of this period"; he deals fully, too, with the changes which came over sexual morality, with magic and religion, and even with play.

In spite of the mastery of the evidence that the book discloses, however, the author does not seem to have faced clearly enough and sharply enough the problems of social dynamics which he seems to regard as of primary importance. There is a confused analogy implicit even in the title, "A Study of the Greek Middle Ages". The analogy is present throughout the book. The author thinks of the Homeric age as the "feudal" period of Greek society, the times of Hesiod as the Middle Ages, the fifth century as the Renaissance, recalling the splendor and creative success of a perished

Mycenaean culture. Such a schematization is distinctly misleading. It is a result of an excessive preoccupation with aesthetic factors. It fails to evaluate sufficiently the importance of advancing techniques, to show the effect of this advance on the structure and organization of society, the rise of slavery, the consequent final breakup of the tribal order, and the rise of the early state. As a consequence the author has no consistent theory of the meaning of social change. He notes the transition from the "cheerful secularism of Homer to the serious and ever gloomy religious questioning of Aeschylus", but in his view the Greeks owed their "sense of sin" to their "medieval and not to their epic heritage; it is a simple case of reaction from one to the other". Intellectual and social change is never so simple as that. Burn is aware that the analogy between the Greek age of colonization and the expansion of modern Europe from the Renaissance on is false and misleading. He has, however, no clear theory of the dynamic forces behind Greek colonization; he does not bring out clearly enough the difference between the migrations of a late tribal civilization and the expulsion of the dispossessed in an early stage of a "class society". And incidentally he thinks that every society in the past was a class society and that the possibility of classless society depends upon advanced modern techniques. But in spite of these defects, which can only be briefly indicated in a short review, it is a distinctly hopeful portent that such problems should be raised in the world of classical scholarship and raised by one whose mastery of the evidence is so manifest and complete.

University of Wisconsin. A. D. WINSPEAR.

Le origini di Roma: La monarchia e la prima fase dell'età repubblicana, dal Sec. VIII alla metà del Sec. V A. C. By EMANUELE CIACERI. (Milan: Albrighi, Segati & C. 1937. Pp. 473. 45 l.)

BEANHEIM, Langlois, Seignobos, and Vincent would be surprised to learn that in recent years their standards and methods have been termed radical. The self-styled conservatives claim to have found more reliable guides to the truth than those set up by the methodologists. The volume under review is a product of this conservative scholarship applied to the history of early Rome. Its basic postulate is that the student of history must have faith, faith in the fundamental verity of tradition. Ciaceri himself constantly professes this faith. His chapters are based on lectures delivered to young men in the hope of strengthening their faith in tradition. It is immaterial whether this approach to the past be labeled conservative or radical. It is, in the judgment of the reviewer, incorrect, dangerous, and overwhelmingly saddening. The greatness of Rome's empire builders is indisputable. The magnificent contribution of ancient Rome to human civilization is acknowledged without reservation. But the greatness cannot

be increased by the acceptance of the unsupported testimony of an incompetent witness, nor can the contribution be made more attractive by an embroidery of fiction.

Ciaceri begins with a detailed presentation of the views of modern critics, from Laurentius Valla (1442) to Peremans (1934), as to the credibility of early Roman history. This is clear, concise, and written with a suitable approximation to objectivity. There follows a defense of oral tradition, of the early inscriptions, of other written records, and of the Roman annalists. Here the voice of the judge alternates with that of the pleader. For example, the judge notes the synchronous appearance and development of poetry and prose in Roman literature. The two were, for the Romans, one and the same thing ("una cosa sola", p. 87). Both were written in order that the reasons for Rome's greatness might be preserved. The pleader then argues that a literature inspired by patriotism possesses certain inherent immunity from criticism. Ciaceri, therefore, prefers the standards of Livy (for example, V, 21, 9) to those of De Sanctis or Pais.

Adherence to Livian standards produces statements which one reads with regret. Thus, if Ancus Marcius had been a character of fiction, the name of his father, too, would have been invented. The fact that his father is not mentioned proves that he was a real person (p. 248). Writers of fiction would not have inserted the reign of Servius Tullius between those of father and son; therefore he is a historical character (p. 263). The story of the ruthless daughter of Tullius is not improbable since bad women are omnipresent in history (p. 279).

The most startling product of conservative scholarship lies in the pages which summarize a reduction to zero of the Indo-European contribution to Roman civilization (pp. 168-181). Neither the terramaricoli nor the Illyrians were ancestors of the Latins. The Latins were Mediterranean in origin. The foreign influences which accelerated their advance were Mediterranean. Even the language of the Latins was Mediterranean with some loan words from the east via the Mediterranean.

This hypothesis, the real heart of the book, is clearly the outgrowth of an emotional state. It will be received with emotion. But whether it brings laughter or tears, it deserves objective study. The reviewer is not competent to judge the interpretations of ethnological and philological evidence presented. But it is the duty of anyone who has sought truth for truth's sake to deplore and condemn an incorrect approach and an undesirable objective. Ciaceri's volume has many excellent passages. But a work conceived in faith and dedicated to the stimulation of patriotism should be classed, with the books of Livy, as patriotic propaganda, not scientific history.

University of California. J. J. Van Nostrand.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Études d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire de Henri Pirenne. Par ses anciens élèves. (Brussels: Nouvelle Société d'Éditions. 1937. Pp. ix, 502.)

In 1926 Henri Pirenne was presented with two handsome volumes of essays by pupils and friends to celebrate his completion of forty years' teaching at the University of Ghent. Now, two years after the master's death, a smaller collection, by pupils only, is published in his memory. The editors—F. L. Ganshof, Étienne Sabbe, and Fernand Vercauteren—feelingly tell how the project came to be launched. They remind us that Pirenne was not only a distinguished scholar but also a great teacher, and that among all his achievements he was proudest of the historical school which gathered round him at Ghent. The present volume honors that tradition and eloquently attests its worth.

There are thirty contributors: Belgians who secured the doctorate under Pirenne's direction and students from overseas who completed a year's study in his seminar. The list should be longer, for a number of those asked to contribute were at the moment unable to do so—among them one who hopes in some measure to atone for his default by this review. And, as the editors sorrowfully note, premature death accounts for the absence of no less than seven names, including Victor Fris, Guillaume Des Marez, Willem Blommaert, and Robert Pirenne. The actual contributors, however, well represent the entire group of Pirenne's pupils. Of the twenty-seven men and three women, twelve hold teaching positions in Belgium, eight are associated with the care of archives there or in the Netherlands, one is a librarian, one is a lawyer, and five are American professors.

The contributions, on the whole, clearly reflect the influence of the master to whose memory they are dedicated, both in the subjects treated and in the quality of the underlying research. The authors are rarely content with a superficial description; it is rather some problem of analysis—the critical evaluation of a document, the appraisal of conflicting views, the determination of a significant relationship—that interests them. Space is lacking for any true appreciation of the book in these respects, but some idea of its merits may be gained from a summary classification of its contents.

As would be expected, the great majority of the essays deal with the social and economic history of Western Europe—especially towns, trade, and related matters. Thus Henri Berben discusses the motives and results of the English embargo on wool (1270-74); Robert L. Reynolds sketches the information provided by Genoese records about various men of Liège; René Stragier explains the derivation and meaning of the term *creesers* as applied to a party at Ghent in the sixteenth century; Willem S. Unger gives a brief account of the toll collected at Iersekeroord by the counts of Holland;

be increased by the acceptance of the unsupported testimony of an incompetent witness, nor can the contribution be made more attractive by an embroidery of fiction.

Ciaceri begins with a detailed presentation of the views of modern critics, from Laurentius Valla (1442) to Peremans (1934), as to the credibility of early Roman history. This is clear, concise, and written with a suitable approximation to objectivity. There follows a defense of oral tradition, of the early inscriptions, of other written records, and of the Roman annalists. Here the voice of the judge alternates with that of the pleader. For example, the judge notes the synchronous appearance and development of poetry and prose in Roman literature. The two were, for the Romans, one and the same thing ("una cosa sola", p. 87). Both were written in order that the reasons for Rome's greatness might be preserved. The pleader then argues that a literature inspired by patriotism possesses certain inherent immunity from criticism. Ciaceri, therefore, prefers the standards of Livy (for example, V, 21, 9) to those of De Sanctis or Pais.

Adherence to Livian standards produces statements which one reads with regret. Thus, if Ancus Marcius had been a character of fiction, the name of his father, too, would have been invented. The fact that his father is not mentioned proves that he was a real person (p. 248). Writers of fiction would not have inserted the reign of Servius Tullius between those of father and son; therefore he is a historical character (p. 263). The story of the ruthless daughter of Tullius is not improbable since bad women are omnipresent in history (p. 279).

The most startling product of conservative scholarship lies in the pages which summarize a reduction to zero of the Indo-European contribution to Roman civilization (pp. 168-181). Neither the terramaricoli nor the Illyrians were ancestors of the Latins. The Latins were Mediterranean in origin. The foreign influences which accelerated their advance were Mediterranean. Even the language of the Latins was Mediterranean with some loan words from the east via the Mediterranean.

This hypothesis, the real heart of the book, is clearly the outgrowth of an emotional state. It will be received with emotion. But whether it brings laughter or tears, it deserves objective study. The reviewer is not competent to judge the interpretations of ethnological and philological evidence presented. But it is the duty of anyone who has sought truth for truth's sake to deplore and condemn an incorrect approach and an undesirable objective. Ciaceri's volume has many excellent passages. But a work conceived in faith and dedicated to the stimulation of patriotism should be classed, with the books of Livy, as patriotic propaganda, not scientific history.

University of California. J. J. Van Nostrand.

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Alfred Hansay raises certain questions regarding landed property in medieval Liège; Fernand Vercauteren provides a useful supplement to Blommaert's work on the *châtelains* of Flanders; Charles Verlinden contributes a note, with *pièces justificatives,* on sales of slaves at Montpellier in 1418; and Henri de Sagher analyzes in considerable detail a remarkable inquest of 1593 touching the Flemish cloth industry.

A closely related and particularly interesting group of studies takes up questions of historical geography: the inundation of the Flemish coast in 1404, by Gaston G. Dept; the foundation of ports on the estuary of the Zwin, which once connected Bruges with the sea, by Antoine De Smet; the Canal du Sas of the Gantois and the extension to it of the town's jurisdiction, by Henri Nowé; the *banlieu* of early Flemish towns, by Hans Van Werveke; the boundary between the English and Picard nations at the University of Paris, by Gray C. Boyce; and the oldest atlas of the United Provinces, that of Abraham Ortelius (1586), by Jean Denucé. The article of André Van de Vyver on the Mediterranean policy of Clovis will also be seen to treat of geographic as well as political matters.

Three essays are essentially biographical, and all are concerned with men prominent in Flemish towns: Claude de Genetaire, governor of Arlon (1624-81), by Marcel Bourguignon; Maître Nicolas de Biervliet, clerk to the *échevins* of Bruges in the thirteenth century, by Joseph De Smet; and Jean de Saint-Amand, rascally canon of Cambrai (d. 1368), by Fritz Quicke. Two have a direct bearing on the history of representative government: the essay of Herman Vander Linden on the estates general of the Low Countries in 1576 and that of Charles H. Taylor on the French assembly of 1312 at Lyons-Vienne, suggesting a medieval theory of virtual representation for which the reviewer would like to see more positive evidence. Jacques Pirenne's thoughtful synthesis, "Les trois cycles de l'histoire juridique et sociale de l'ancienne Égypte", is the only contribution having to do with a period earlier than the Middle Ages.

Two contributions are immediately concerned with the church: Henri Obreen's note on the origin of Middelburg Abbey and James L. Cate's discussion of the attempt by Eustace of Flay (1200-1201) to establish Sunday observance in England—a significant example of ecclesiastical failure to check business enterprise even in the age of Innocent III. And in connection with these two may be mentioned the studies of monastic charters by Étienne Sabbe and Marie-Anne Bonenfant-Feytmans: the one on the first extant enactment by a count of Flanders, the grant of Arnold I to Saint-Pierre de Gand (941); the other on the oldest muniment of Andenne Abbey (1095). Students of diplomatics will also be interested in Laurent Van Werveke's description of the early seals used by the commune of Ghent; in the Poitevin alienations of land (857-918) edited by Denise Feytmans; in the charters cited by Lina Vercauteren-De Smet to illustrate

Anglo-Flemish relations (1093-1111); and in the hitherto unpublished record of Edward III's marriage to Philippa of Hainaut, contributed by Henry S. Lucas.

Special attention, finally, may be called to the article by F. L. Ganshof on the sources for the union of benefice and vassalage in the eighth century, which is noteworthy both for its subject matter and for its origin. "This study", the author states in a footnote, "is the result of research carried out during the first semester of the academic year 1935-36 in that mediaeval-history seminar at the University of Ghent which Henri Pirenne created, directed, and made illustrious". Professor Ganshof lists the nine students who, under his direction, took part in the work. Such, the reviewer will always insist, is what the historical seminar ought to be—as it was under Henri Pirenne.

Cornell University. CARL STEPHENSON.

Vinlandsferdene. By A. W. BRØGGER. (Oslo: Gyldendal. 1937. Pp. 208. 10 Kr.)

THE sources for the history of the Vinland voyages form only a small body of materials. They begin with an allusion to Vinland in Adam of Bremen's description of the Northern lands (*ca.* 1070) and continue with notes and longer accounts in sagas and annals down into the fifteenth century. The briefer notes, though important, present no serious problems. It is otherwise with the longer narratives of which there are two, "The Saga of Eric the Red" in the *Hauk's Book* and "The Tale of the Greenlanders" in the *Flat-Isle Book*. These present difficulties that earlier scholars have not successfully overcome. Any discussion of the Vinland problem is therefore sure to be concerned with the relative merits of these two accounts.

Since 1886, when Gustav Storm published the first critical study of these sources, there has been a tendency among scholars to prefer the narrative of the *Hauk's Book* to that of the somewhat later *Flat-Isle Book*. Some have gone so far as to reject the latter account entirely. But now comes Dr. A. W. Brøgger, an eminent Norwegian archaeologist and historian, with the comforting doctrine that the two sagas are both good sources; in some respects he even believes the *Flat-Isle* account to be the better of the two.

The author emphasizes the fact that the narratives are not scientific reports but are tales told by sailors returning from voyages in which they had actually shared. That the accounts are in some part mythical will surprise no one who is at all acquainted with medieval literature. Moreover, Dr. Brøgger believes that if the sagas are studied as products of their own time and environment, the disagreements will not be found serious.

Taken together the two sagas tell first of the accidental sighting of land on the Labrador coast by Bjarni Herjulfsson (*ca.* 986); next of a visit to the new shores by Leif Ericsson and of his discovery of Vinland (*ca.* 1000);

finally of attempts to colonize Vinland and particularly of the expedition led by Thorfinn Karlsefni (*ca.* 1003). In recent years the story of Bjarni's discovery has received little credit. Dr. Brøgger, however, is sure that the account must be taken seriously; it agrees, he argues, so completely with geographical and nautical facts and conditions that it cannot be lightly set aside. That it receives no mention in the *Hauk's Book* he regards as not at all significant. Hauk Erlendsson was a descendant of Thorfinn Karlsefni and was consequently more interested in the exploits of his famous ancestor, which he seems anxious to have properly recorded.

In his discussion of the Vinland geography Dr. Brøgger deals with the larger areas only. Helluland he locates on Baffin Land. Markland he finds on the Labrador coast south of Hamilton Inlet. Vinland, he argues, must be sought in a region where the explorers would be able to fish salmon and gather grapes in plentiful supply. This fact, he believes, limits the search to the coast of southern New England, most likely to the region about Massachusetts Bay or a little farther south. It is possible that some day material remains will be found which will help to solve the problem, but thus far there have been no finds that an archaeologist can accept as genuine. This statement also covers such inland finds as the Kensington (Minnesota) Rune Stone, which the author regards as a product of the nineteenth century.

In a chapter entitled "Vinland and Europe" Dr. Brøgger argues cogently that the story of the Vinland discoveries must have been widely known in Western Europe in the fifteenth century. Recent archaeological investigations in Greenland have shown that the Greenlanders did not live in isolation but that their settlements were visited by Norwegian, English, and perhaps also by Hanseatic traders till toward the close of the century. The author accepts as genuine the accounts of an expedition in the early 1470's under the direction of the Norwegian pilot, John Scolvus, which he believes actually reached some point on the American mainland. He is quite sure that Columbus had heard of the new lands in the northwest. He could have been only mildly interested, however, since his ambitions were directed toward richer fields, toward the fabulous realms of Prester John.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Saint Bernard of Clairvaux. By WATKIN WILLIAMS. [University of Manchester Historical Series.] (Manchester: University Press. 1935. Pp. xxxviii, 423. 25*s*.)

IN his preface the author of this work regrets the fact that the English schoolboy is only indifferently supplied with useful material on the life of the great twelfth century churchman who is the subject of his study. The reader might therefore be led to expect a work somewhat popular in tone. But in this he would be deceived. It would be a hardy schoolboy who

would have patience to read through the first one hundred pages dealing with the early life of Bernard, the founding of Clairvaux, and the establishment of daughter houses during the thirty-eight years that Bernard was abbot of that foundation. It is a stirring story of indomitable courage and perseverance, but the narrative gets lost in the detail of the telling, and the reader all but loses sight of the central figure.

The tempo is swifter in the succeeding chapters. In these the author takes up in succession the services of the great abbot in the healing of the schism between Innocent II and Anacletus; his ideals for the local clergy; his relations with secular princes, especially the king of France; his influence upon monasticism; his position in regard to papal authority; his call for the Second Crusade; his attack upon heresy, both that of the schools led by Abelard and the popular heresies of such leaders as Tanchelm, Henry of Lausanne, and Arnold of Brescia. There are several appendixes containing some discussion of the writings by and about Bernard, together with notes on two of his contemporaries—St. Hildegarde and Peter the Venerable of Cluny. A few illustrations add something to the attractiveness of the volume, and there are useful maps and plans of the monastery of Clairvaux.

The book is written from the primary sources and is spiced throughout with liberal quotations. There is slight reference to the modern literature touching upon the life and work of St. Bernard. Such method has its advantages and disadvantages. The quotations from the sources give the work in many places a liveliness and vividness that would otherwise be lacking. On the other hand, the reader would like to find in a serious work of the sort under discussion more critical appraisal of the sources and reference to the literature at least adequate to show what the author feels that he himself has added to the discussion. For one reader, at least, it has been difficult to discover any real advance over other treatments of St. Bernard. Indeed, the author states in his preface that Abbé Vacandard has left little to glean, and the question perforce arises why he did not content himself with a translation of the biography by the French scholar.

The present work appears to fall between two stools. It is not sufficiently popular to attract the so-called general reader (about whom we hear much but seldom see), nor is it critical enough to satisfy the careful student of the period. Space does not permit full presentation of this view; but throughout one senses an uncritical acceptance of the ideas, ideals, and actions of St. Bernard and an equally uncritical condemnation of his opponents. An occasional recognition of lack of tact or consideration on the part of the hero is regularly accompanied by an explanation indicating extenuating circumstances or the importance of the issues which justified unusual or peremptory methods. On the other hand, there never appear to be extenuating circumstances in the case of opponents of St. Bernard.

In its ensemble the picture is too perfect. One wonders if over a period of approximately forty years of active life one man can always be right and his opponents always wrong.

The most serious criticism of the work is that the whole subject has been too narrowly conceived; the sources employed represent too narrow a sampling of available materials. The twelfth century was a vital and many faceted period. It is easy for a student to fix his attention too narrowly upon some one aspect of it and underestimate or miss entirely the significance of others. Thus there is little evidence in the book that the author is any more aware than was St. Bernard himself of the true inwardness of the profound social changes that were then disturbing Western Europe, as witnessed by the growth of towns and the consequent rise of an urban industrial class with new needs and new desires. This is particularly evident in the chapter treating of popular heresies of the twelfth century. To the author, as to St. Bernard, the heretics were wrong-headed and immoral fanatics, dangerous to both religion and society, about whom the worst is to be believed and who, if persuasion fail, must be exterminated. Apparently any new idea, any suggestion of social change, or any challenge to authority is *ipso facto* wrong. It seems doubtful whether, starting from such premises, the heretical movements of the twelfth century can be adequately appraised.

But St. Bernard can scarcely be blamed for failure to understand fully what was going on about him, and perhaps we should not criticize his modern biographer for not doing what he does not claim or attempt to do. Judged as an exposition of the life and work of St. Bernard, as seen through the eyes of his contemporary admirers, the present volume is a welcome addition to our literature. It would be a peculiarly insensitive reader who, after having read the volume through, could put it down without the sense of having communed with a great spirit.

Columbia University. AUSTIN P. EVANS.

Life on the English Manor: A Study of Peasant Conditions, 1150-1400. By H. S. BENNETT, Fellow and Librarian of Emanuel College, Cambridge, and University Lecturer in English. [Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, edited by G. G. Coulton.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xviii, 364. $4.50.)

Eynsham under the Monks. By Sir EDMUND CHAMBERS. [Oxfordshire Record Society.] (Oxford: the Society. 1936. Pp. 125.)

THE special merits which seem to the reviewer to mark Mr. Bennett's very unusual and delightful book are, first, a wide range of reading in medieval material as well as in modern writers on particular phases of medieval peasant life and, secondly, an unwillingness to dogmatize or hide behind conventional generalizations, combined with a power of

imagination and presentation which makes the medieval peasant a real part of humanity and kin to ourselves. These men, of limited range geographically and mentally, whose village was their world, for whom, as Mr. Bennett sees them, the unknown might well begin at twenty miles from their hearthstone, become part of that unchanging current of the life of the fields, subject then, as always, to the harsh requirements of Mother Earth, a life miserable enough but relieved somewhat by the nearness of natural things. Subject also as they were to the habits formed by generations of tillers of the soil and to the lord's will, they lived according to the "custom of the manor", which, varying from time to time and from place to place, was yet potent in prescribing the conditions of life in the village and was determined in the end by economic necessity.

In erudition, richness of content, and power of imagination Mr. Bennett's book approaches somewhat the medieval studies of Dr. Coulton, with a clarity of organization all its own and a wider general spread, although a less searching analysis, than the works of his brilliant prototype. The book is specifically and intentionally confined to "manorial organization". This, it is recognized, did not extend over the whole of England, and it should be said that very little attempt is made to define its exact nature or its incidence in relation to two and three field villages and villages of other agrarian characteristics. Pastoral villages in general and the aspects of peasant life which are found in the wild and waste regions of England, whether afforested or not, are scarcely touched upon. Sheep farming still waits for Professor Power, and fen and woodland for their own historian. In a book of this character, including so much, not all points of particular interest can be covered with equal fullness and excellence. Very admirable are the pictures of the everyday life of the peasant and the round of agriculture to which he was bound. Readers may differ as to the effectiveness of the short sketch of imaginary characters that introduces the more general discussion, accurate as it may be in its detail. They may also ask if life remained in so unchanging a mold throughout the period. Little is said of education, probably because there is little to say. There may be question in some minds as to whether "vast desarts of eternity" were as present as is suggested in the everyday thoughts of the ordinary peasant, especially in view of the frequent derelictions noted from the strict rule of the church. The discussion of the change from labor services to money rents adds little perhaps to our exact knowledge but gives on the whole an unprejudiced view of a controversial subject and discounts seeking refuge for the explanation of such changes in that "traditional parent of all economic development, the Black Death", as Miss Levett has put it. The legal status of an individual peasant is less important for Mr. Bennett than his economic position within the village, but perhaps added stress is needed on the differences, economic and legal, amongst the cottars and lesser tenants, on

those who held land in the common fields and those who did not, on the changes wrought by the beginning of a more moneyed economy, on the renting of the demesne and assarting of the waste. This is, however, a matter of emphasis, not of omission. Interesting questions are discussed: exhaustion of the soil, its capacity for fulfilling the needs of the peasant, the "mangeurs de raies" as the French call them, the peasant's struggle for freedom, his relation to military service—a much needed discussion—the services of the reeve and the officials of the manor. Much of this, it is true, is well known to specialists, but it is salutary for all to see the results of the researches of many presented together in so clear a form. Perhaps more definite information would be useful on the exact extent and amount of week work in the sections of England discussed, and more emphatic recognition should be given to the villages in which none appears, as the Hundred Rolls bear witness, even in the heart of the open field region. Carting might be studied in its relation to serfdom and more allowance made for the peculiar customs of Kent and other regions. Outside of Kent the term gavelkind should be used with caution as denoting partibility of inheritance, but the field is so wide and so admirably covered that suggestions and criticism like these seem out of place. There is a good bibliography and a useful glossary and index.

Of a somewhat similar nature, *Eynsham under the Monks* affords an excellent paradigm and lively illustration of many of Mr. Bennett's statements with regard to rural life in general in medieval England and also carries the commentary in this particular case onward to a somewhat later date. It is a very careful work, giving many details of fields, tenements, tenures, fees, and families in Eynsham and its environs, and hence is of great value for the local antiquary. It is more than this, however. It is written with authority and with clarity and understanding. It is much more than a dull list of facts. It fills a very useful purpose in adding one more to the careful studies of exact conditions and variations from the norm, if there be a norm, in diverse parts of England, neglect of which has often led to apparently puzzling contradictions. It shows more or less typical manors lying in a region much studied, with the usual classes of inhabitants, services and rents, and private courts. It shows also a few variations. Eynsham lay on the borders of the difficult forest of Wychwood, and it is interesting to see the existence of the forest made a basis for claims of intercommoning, although afforestation here seems to have taken place long after the "time out of memory", the usual basis of prescription for such rights. The manor showed unusual developments in the matter of agriculture, changing from the two field system to the three field and even to the four field. The monks during their time seem to have been "typical agriculturists, rather than men of great learning or even astonishing piety". The effect of the Black Death is shown in some detail, with

the reversion of lands into a demesne of very varying size. The "chopper acres", land held in rotation, are interesting. Some light is thrown on the stable condition of copyholders—"Let lord frown, the copyholder cares not." The description of colonization under set rules and uniform procedure is important. In short, Eynsham is fortunate in having this admirable commentary to supplement the very valuable work in editing the cartulary and discussing it which we owe to Dr. Salter. A useful map concludes the volume.

Mount Holyoke College. N. Neilson.

Convocation of the Clergy: A Study of its Antecedents and its Rise with Special Emphasis upon its Growth and Activities in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. By Dorothy Bruce Weske. [The Church Historical Society.] (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. 1937. Pp. x, 368. 15*s*.)

In the first chapter Dr. Weske records the meetings of ecclesiastical assemblies which the sources have revealed from the time of St. Augustine to 1295. In each instance she explains the composition of the body and the nature of the business transacted. The paucity of sources renders the narrative little more than a catalogue, with occasional exceptions, until the thirteenth century, when the development of the representation of the lower clergy supplies a topic of interest and importance. The chapter is based on wide research and on generally sound interpretations of the evidence. It is not definitive and presumably was not intended to be. Occasionally a significant bit of evidence has been missed, such as the refusal of the higher clergy in royal councils of 1207 to sanction a tax on the ecclesiastical revenues of the lower clergy without their consent (*Facts and Factors in Economic History* by former students of Edwin Francis Gay, pp. 82-84). Infrequently a piece of evidence does not seem to justify fully the conclusion drawn from it. An ecclesiastical assembly which met in 1207 is said, for example, to have considered a papal subsidy, but the royal letter which is quoted does not appear to uphold the statement (p. 40). Such instances are not common, and the usefulness of the chapter is impaired little thereby. Students of English ecclesiastical history who are aware how often it is necessary in the course of their work to determine the date, place, or business of some ecclesiastical assembly and how difficult it may be to do so will appreciate the value of this chapter. It is greatly enhanced by three appendixes, which list with full data the ecclesiastical assemblies in the province of Canterbury from 1222 to 1399, those in the province of York from 1261 to 1399, and the parliaments and great councils with which the clergy were associated from 1225 to 1399.

The remaining chapters relate primarily to the fourteenth century and the closing years of the thirteenth. An examination of the relations be-

tween convocation and parliament confirms with more fullness of detail the generally accepted view that by the middle of the fourteenth century the clergy were making their grants and transacting most of their business in convocation. Though it substantiates Mrs. Lowry's view that clerical proctors continued to be sent to parliament during the fourteenth century, they appear to have taken part only in a consultative capacity. A study of the procedure in summoning convocations and in the transaction of business by them breaks a large amount of new ground, and this is supplemented by a comparison of the procedure and activities of the convocations of Canterbury and York. A chapter on the association of grievances with grants of money by convocation brings out much of constitutional importance, and this aspect of the subject is further developed by a concluding chapter which demonstrates that the contribution of convocation to the growth of the constitution was larger than has been generally recognized hitherto. The materials available for this main portion of the study are more abundant, and the treatment is much fuller. The author has not utilized all of the available sources, but she has investigated a large and typical part of them. She has, for example, searched many episcopal registers, including the particularly fruitful manuscript registers of the archbishops of Canterbury. Those which remain unexplored would supply additional information, but much of it would be like in kind to that which she has collected. An illustration is provided by some of the memoranda rolls of the exchequer which she does not cite. They contain some statements of grievances associated with grants of taxes by convocation, but those with which I am familiar would not change the method of her treatment or the significance of her conclusions. Mrs. Weske has done her work with sufficient thoroughness to enrich greatly our knowledge of convocation and to provide students of English ecclesiastical and constitutional history with a highly serviceable tool.

Haverford College. W. E. Lunt.

Les villes des foires de Champagne, des origines au début du XIV^e^ siècle. Par Elizabeth Chapin. [Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études.] (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1937. Pp. xxviii, 354.)

The author of this careful and competent study of the origin and early history of the towns in which the Champagne fairs were held has approached her subject in the light of recent research devoted to medieval towns in general, notably that of her teachers, Professors Halphen and Stephenson, has stressed the relationships between the towns and their fairs, and has corrected in many details the classic and still fundamental work of Bourquelet. She has ransacked the archives involved, municipal, ecclesiastical, departmental, and national, and has returned with a considerable amount of plunder, as her notes, appendixes, and *pièces justificatives* will

demonstrate. In addition, she has written a book which is both scholarly and readable.

Her conclusions are that Provins certainly and Troyes, Bar-sur-Aube, and Lagny in lesser degrees were all cities of importance in the Middle Ages in their own right as industrial centers. The rise of fairs in these towns was due to geographic factors, to the political needs of the counts of Champagne, and to the crossing in this area of great trade routes. The fairs did not produce the towns. They did not make Bar-sur-Aube really industrial or Lagny really large. Yet the fairs did stimulate the commercial centers from which the towns evolved. They probably accelerated the development of free urban tenure and personal liberty. The fairs, however, undoubtedly prevented the growth of municipal self-government. They made the counts wealthy, and the latter were never obliged to sell communal privileges of importance. The decline of the towns of Champagne in the fourteenth century was due to their progressive financial weakness, the virtual conquest of the county by the Capetian monarchy, and the opening of new trade routes.

The reviewer has nothing but praise for the general handling of the subject. Dr. Chapin is completely at home in the materials involved, printed and unprinted. She has used topographical material with great success. Her chapter on the fairs and the urban life of the thirteenth century, based largely on literary sources, is interesting and valuable. Her knowledge of local history, so necessary in a book of this kind, is encyclopedic. It is possible, however, that she overestimates the general acceptance which she claims for the theories of Pirenne and Stephenson. Her footnotes are too numerous and, in many cases, too extensive. The last appendix, devoted to a tabular view of the receipts and expenses of Provins from 1274 to 1331, is questionable in some of its details and hardly worth the enormous labor involved unless accompanied by an explanation of considerable length. Twenty-two *pièces justificatives,* of which eleven have apparently not previously been printed, make available a variety of material from the archives, all of it interesting and much of it valuable. There are five plans, which both the scholar and the general reader will find fascinating. The bibliography is excellent, though not critical. The index covers the whole book, including notes, appendixes, and *pièces justificatives,* and seems reasonably complete.

Smith College. SIDNEY R. PACKARD.

The Port Books or Local Customs Accounts of Southampton for the Reign of Edward IV. Edited by D. B. QUINN with the assistance of A. A. RUDDOCK. Volume I, *1469-1471.* [Southampton Record Society.] (Southampton: Cox and Sharland. 1937. Pp. xix, 104. 28*s.*)

The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Middle Ages. E. M. CARUS-WILSON, ed. [Bristol Record Society.] (Bristol: the Society. 1937. Pp. 347.)

Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1453-1527. With an Introduction by LÆTITIA LYELL assisted by FRANK D. WATNEY, Clerk to the Mercers' Company. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. xxiv, 816. $18.00.)

The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple. With an Introduction by E. E. RICH. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (*Ibid.* 1937. Pp. viii, 210. $4.50.)

THESE four volumes provide a considerable amount of new material for the history of English commerce and business during the later Middle Ages. Under Dr. Quinn's editorship the Southampton Record Society has published a condensed translation of the port books or local customs accounts of Southampton for the years 1469-1471, showing the local customs and other duties, such as anchorage and keelage, pontage, and cranage and wharfage, levied on the seaborne traffic of the port. These duties were collected by the town as rights pertaining to its fee farm and generally brought in enough to pay the fee farm rent of £226 13*s.* 4*d.* In order to make available all the statistical information on the seaborne trade of the port for the period Dr. Quinn appends summaries of the royal customs of Southampton for the years 1461-1483.

In *The Overseas Trade of Bristol* Mr. Carus-Wilson brings together all records relating to Bristol commerce during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Such documents as have already been printed are noted and cited. Those of lesser importance are calendared. Documents of major significance are transcribed at length or abstracted in detail. Ten hitherto unprinted particular customs accounts ranging from 1323 to 1480 are given a good deal of space. The customs accounts as enrolled in the exchequer are analyzed from 1303 to 1482 to show Bristol's exports of wool and cloth and imports of wine. Some two hundred miscellaneous documents are reproduced to give some notion of Bristol wares, markets, ships, and ways of doing business, and the dangers and risks of commerce. These documents consist of licenses to trade from Iceland to Pisa, licenses to carry pilgrims to St. James in Galicia, safe-conducts, chancery proceedings involving charges of piracy and other trade irregularities, and various other court actions in which Bristol merchants were involved.

At the Mercers' Hall in London is preserved a series of volumes entitled "Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company", running almost continuously from 1453 to the present day. The first volume now printed of this series contains not only the minutes of the Mercers' Company but also those of the Merchant Adventurers from 1453 to 1527. There is surprisingly little wheat here among an immense amount of chaff. There are a few lists of merchants with the amounts they have lent the government or advanced to buy a present for some dignitary. Occasionally there is a note regarding diplomatic exchanges growing out of the prohibition of English trade in

the Netherlands. In 1520 Wolsey tried to get the Mercers and the Merchant Adventurers to make a voyage to "the new found island", the king to apparel the ships and the merchants to provide the victualing and men's wages for one year. More generally the meetings dealt with the admission of new freemen, with regulating the bachelors and apprentices, and especially with the management of the companies' real estate and other property. Obviously most of the real business of both these companies was never even mentioned at the regular company meetings.

The Ordinance Book of the Merchants of the Staple represents an attempt made on June 5, 1565, to commit to writing the customs of the Staple under which the Staplers had flourished at Calais and to adjust the regulations to the new conditions under which the merchants were now trying to carry on at Bruges. The book shows less the current practices of 1565 than the methods used by the Staplers in the days of their prosperity. The interest of the document is again largely antiquarian.

All four of these volumes are characterized by impeccable editorial supervision and by beautiful and costly printing. Each is preceded by a preface which is instructive and valuable in itself. Mr. Rich's preface to the Staplers' ordinances tells the fascinating story of the later history of the Staplers. The Company of the Staplers eventually dwindled to something like a family party, the members of which belonged to three or four families. In 1928 the existing members, tired of eating dinners twice a year at the Albion Tavern and the Trafalgar Hotel alternately, decided to hold no more meetings, to divide the company property among themselves, and to deposit their papers in the British Museum. On the death of the last survivor the Merchants of the Staple will have ceased to exist.

For all the scholarship and industry lavished on these books, it must be recognized that they are but isolated documents in the history of English commerce. A large part of their value lies in the indication they give of what is available in the archive repositories. Indeed it is a grave question whether very much more of this kind of publication should be done, considering its cost. Its motivation seems to be the belief that commerce was the effective factor in the increasing wealth of the later Middle Ages. The documents here published make clear that merchants were shopkeepers and sometimes even pirates rather than princes. They cheated each other and the consuming public after the manner of very smalltime pitchmen. The extent of their undertakings in foreign trade indicated in these studies, with one and two hundred ton ships and petty consignments of a few dozen cloths or a few tuns of wine, cannot seriously have affected the development of medieval life. Agriculture and not commerce or even industry seems to have been the basis for English development at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern era. It might be profitable for record societies to turn their energies in the future toward

the study of agricultural techniques and their development if it is desired to make the most substantial contributions to learning the how and why of England's increasing wealth.

University of Illinois. F. C. DIETZ.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England: A Study of the English Scientific Writings from 1500 to 1645. By FRANCIS R. JOHNSON. [Huntington Library Publications.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 357. $3.25.)

IN the introductory survey of this book its purpose is defined. This is "to examine the new astronomy [that, namely, of Copernicus and Tycho] and its progress in England up to 1645, as it appeared in the eyes of men living at that time". The examination made reveals a widespread interest in science and particularly in the new rather than the traditional science, although, as is well known, comparatively little was contributed by Englishmen to its progress during these years. The work thus refers primarily to the dissemination of the new knowledge in England, where popular books in the vernacular, in considerably greater number than those published elsewhere, testified to a general interest in astronomy among cultivated men. The study of this dissemination is the chief purpose of the book, which, on this account, will prove to be more interesting to the general reader than to the student of the development of science.

It is perhaps for this reason that its introductory section begins with a brief and somewhat vague survey of the more patent aspects of scientific thought in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and is followed by chapters which constitute a general elementary exposition, "Pre-Copernican Conceptions of the Universe" and "The Newness of the Copernican Astronomy". Thus a quarter of the whole book is concerned with familiar generalities. It may well be that some such exposition is desirable in view of the fact that rather few historians have taken the trouble to inform themselves concerning even the more important achievements of the past in science; but whatever usefulness such explanatory chapters may possess, there is no doubt that they are altogether too detailed. There seems to be no good reason why a reader interested in the development of English thought concerning the new astronomy should wade through paragraphs about the ancient system of Philalaos or the inconsequent vagaries of Plato or the erratic Arabic theory of trepidation, and so on. This sort of exposition is more suitable to the pages of a general textbook than to those of a particular scholarly study. The next chapters—entitled "Astronomical Learning in England" and "The Advance of Astronomy in England"—are, however, interesting and informative and provide a well-developed background for the record of

the author's more intensive studies which follows. These, for the most part, bear upon the work of notable individuals. Thomas Digges, for instance, is shown as a good skeptical critic to whom is ascribed the idea of an infinite universe, as this was propagated in England, and the advocacy of experimental evidence in place of metaphysical assumption as the basis of hypothesis, after the manner of the practical men of the time, like Robert Norman and William Burough. The critical character of this English thought is emphasized in the succeeding chapters, where the more important work of Gilbert and Harriot, for instance, is described and that of Bacon justly criticized. The concluding chapter, "The Scientific Spirit in Renaissance England", well summarizes the substance of the book.

Throughout the work generous quotation is made from all the more important works cited, the verbose quality of which seems to have been contagious. According to one's taste, this style will be engaging or wearisome. The minuteness of the analysis thus illustrated will seem to any but a very leisurely reader hardly to be justified by its importance; but on the whole there is no doubt that the quoted passages add to the impression conveyed of a great activity among the English scientific critics of the time.

Columbia University. FREDERICK BARRY.

English Monks and the Suppression of the Monasteries. By GEOFFREY BASKERVILLE. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. 312. $3.00.)

THIS is an interesting and amusing book; the author, at the beginning of his introduction, boldly announces his motto to be *Nihil bene quod non jucunde.* Whether or not the conclusions of his work can be unreservedly accepted is another question. It deals with monastic life on the eve of the Reformation, with the suppressions of 1536 and 1539, and especially—this is the best part of the book—with the subsequent fate of the dispossessed abbots, monks, friars, and nuns. Most of the classical verdicts are vigorously challenged. Liberal coats of whitewash are applied to Henry VIII, to Thomas Cromwell, and even to Leigh, Layton, and Ap Rice. The later chapters of the book offer evidence intended to show that the abbots and friars were generally promoted to offices of equal or greater value after the suppression or else granted adequate pensions. Doubtless all this was the fact in certain cases, but was it true of the rank and file? Contemporary testimony affords strong reason for doubting it (*e.g.,* Ellis Letters, ser. 3, vol. III, *passim*); but contemporary evidence which does not support Mr. Baskerville's contentions he generally elects to ignore. Certainly the letters of the imperial ambassador, Eustache Chapuys, tell a very different tale (*e.g., Cal. St. Papers,* Henry VIII, vol. XI, no. 42), and most students of the period are in the habit of taking his testimony seriously, even though he was the representative of a foreign power; Mr.

Baskerville, on the other hand, is apparently convinced that he almost invariably lied (p. 113).

Mr. Baskerville's efforts to supply correctives to the older verdicts would have been more impressive had he chosen to express himself in more dignified fashion. Dr. John London, warden of New College, for instance, who was characterized by the Rev. William Hunt as "coarse and vile" and by Cardinal Gasquet as "the most terrible of all the monastic spoilers", is described as having "probably suffered more than any of the others at the hands of sobstuff writers" (p. 127). "Nothing can exceed the terror which highbrow persons of Dr. Leigh's type excites [*sic*] among those who are known in the American language as 'hicks and hayseeds'" (p. 126) is another typical statement. The book abounds in comparisons with Continental lands—all of them suggestive if not convincing; but when we find the author describing Sir Thomas Wyatt as "ambassador at Madrid" (1537-39), our doubts about his knowledge of contemporary Europe are necessarily aroused. (Madrid was not made the capital of Spain until 1561, and the emperor to whom Wyatt was sent spent less than three weeks there, en route from Valladolid to Toledo, during the two years when the English ambassador was at his court.)

The author is so much interested in the fate of the "dispossessed religious" after the suppression that he devotes only a short page to a topic which is of far greater importance to most students of the period—namely the disposal of the monastic lands and the creation, by means of it, of a new Tudor aristocracy which was expected to support the crown. Needless to add, it is impossible to give any adequate account of so large a subject in so short a space, and the casual reader who does not know the period will get no idea from Mr. Baskerville's book of the stupendous change in the structure of English society which the results of the suppression brought about. It is not fair, however, to criticize Mr. Baskerville for what he omits; but there is one point on which his brief treatment of this topic conveys a wrong impression. Following Professor Savine's tables, he rightly states that out of approximately sixteen hundred grants of monastic lands made during the reign of Henry VIII, "not more than one in forty were gifts; the rest were sales and exchanges" (p. 287). But when he goes on to say that the purchasers of the enormously preponderant part "had to buy the lands at their true value" (p. 288), it is difficult to agree with him. The prices asked were based on the rents of the days before the suppression, which were notoriously low ("the monks were the easiest of landlords"), and the rise in prices which marked the second half of the sixteenth century made them seem still lower. The large number of people who bought licenses to alienate within a few days of the original purchase tells the same story in a different way; it was a period of brisk speculation in land and a golden opportunity to make money. The amounts that were paid

for the confiscated monastic lands—both by purchasers and lessees—did not come anywhere near representing their "true value". Most of them indeed were not given away outright, but they were certainly sold or leased at exceedingly low rates.

Harvard University. ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Oliver Cromwell and the English People. By ERNEST BARKER. [The Cambridge Miscellany.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. 105. $1.50.)

Oliver Cromwell: A Dictator's Tragedy. By MARY TAYLOR BLAUVELT. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1937. Pp. xiii, 317. $3.50.)

Oliver Cromwell, the Conservative Dictator. By MAURICE ASHLEY. (London: Jonathan Cape. 1937. Pp. 351. 12*s.* 6*d.*)

HISTORY, like the life it chronicles, has its times and seasons, its fashions and its fads. Like life, it changes from generation to generation. Like those who live that life, it alters its point of view and revises its judgments in the light of new experiences and in accord with what is known as "the spirit of the times". It has not been so long ago that Oliver Cromwell was the "undemocratic hero of democracy". It has not been many years since he was acclaimed as the savior of liberty. It seems only yesterday that he was pictured as the founder of our modern conceptions of personal freedom in religion and even in politics. And what a change! If it be true that interest in him portends revolution, the appearance of six books about him in the past two years may have profound significance. Even if that be not true, the three under consideration seem to indicate not merely that judgment of the Protector has been revised, but that our standards have been profoundly altered.

For Carlyle's hero of liberty has been somehow transformed into Mr. Ashley's conservative dictator. His heroic struggle for religious freedom has produced Miss Blauvelt's dictator's tragedy. And Dr. Church's comparison of Cromwell with Washington and Lincoln has come by some miracle of sea change into Professor Barker's parallel between the Independents and the Nazis and, presumably, by implication, between Cromwell and Hitler. So the circle has come round in full at last, from Leti's "tyrant without vice" through the champion of liberty to the sad and conservative dictator. Yet dictators, however radical on their way to power, are, and must be, conservative once that power is attained; and dictatorships are always sad affairs at best.

For these reasons, apart from their contents, this group of books has a peculiar interest. They reveal not merely how the world has changed. They reflect the face of the present in the mirror of the past—or, if you prefer, they reflect the face of the past in the mirror of the present. None of them, in a strict sense, is a biography. Professor Barker's brilliant,

stimulating, and provocative essay, which everyone should read, is naturally not of the nature of biography. And whatever effect it may have on the followers of Der Führer, there can be no doubt of its effect on the admirers of the Protector.

Miss Blauvelt's interpretation of Cromwell's "successful failure" does not profess to be a life of Cromwell. It is rather of the nature of those "soul" biographies of the late Gamaliel Bradford, and it reveals an extraordinarily wide knowledge of the materials which are necessary for such an appreciation. It is eminently readable and will, no doubt, be widely read. Like Mr. Ashley's book, it disclaims an attempt to discuss in any considerable degree those military and diplomatic matters with which Cromwell's carnal activities were chiefly concerned. Mr. Ashley, in his own words, reduces "Cromwell's record to a minimum" and lays his chief stress on "social and economic policy". His book is, in effect, an expansion of his doctoral thesis, published some years since under the title of *Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate,* but the additional material on Cromwell's life is neither important nor very accurate. This is unfortunate, for, whatever his contribution to human happiness in the form of liberty, Cromwell was essentially a man of war and politics. He was, in the words of his contemporaries, *Politicus sine exemplo,* and without his achievements in war and politics he would never have had the opportunity of being the subject of these studies. This does not mean that they have no place in the lengthening stream of Cromwelliana; it merely serves to define that place.

There is one more reflection which these books inspire. It is that in the same fashion that Napoleon's rise to power helped Continental Europeans to understand Cromwell, so the rise of an Austrian house-painter to the headship of the German Reich, of a newspaper editor to the leadership of Italy, and—if reports be true—of a Georgian bandit to the domination of Russia, have somehow modified our concept of Cromwell's achievement. It may even modify our notions of his place in history. But above all, these books reveal the gulf that now begins to yawn between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

Cambridge. WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

The Attempted Whig Revolution of 1678-1681. By FRANCIS S. RONALDS. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana: University of Illinois. 1937. Pp. 202. $3.00.)

THIS dissertation upon three critical years of English history is concerned with political maneuvers rather than with political ideas. In it is carefully sifted all available evidence about the activities of Oates, the trials of Coleman and others, together with the relations of all these people with the great personages of the period. The narrative thus presented revises

older accounts of the exclusion struggle and the popish plot. Mr. Ronalds is particularly happy in his descriptions of legal proceedings; his quotations are apt, his documentation ample. His book will supersede all other discussions of the minutiae of these years. With his general conclusions, however, there may be some disagreement. Irritated by the seemingly fortuitous nature of its policies, Mr. Ronalds denies to the country party any motivation but the ambitions of its leaders and the religious prejudices of the gentry who supported them (p. 77). He does scant justice to Shaftesbury both in his own summary of his politics and in his rather misleading quotation from Mr. Tanner's (p. 80, n. 52). He hinges on the murder of Godfrey the exclusion struggle, the repression under James, and the Revolution of 1688 (p. 23). He credits to Charles alone the avoidance of war during the crisis (p. 24) and is inclined generally to overestimate that monarch's capacities. He discovers the explanation of James's behavior in his desire for revenge and decides, in a manner hardly consistent with his earlier reflections on Godfrey's murder, that since James was both a fool and a papist his failure in 1688 was inevitable (p. 160).

Some bad misprints (p. 56, n. 17; p. 80, n. 52) mar the text. No indication is anywhere given which of the three editions of Reresby's *Memoirs* listed is used for citation, and among these three Mr. Browning's has no place. The bibliography is far too long and miscellaneous for a monograph of this size. Some explanation of its scope would have been helpful, particularly with reference to the lengthy list of pamphlets. This list is incomplete, though this is nowhere stated; *Popery and Tyranny in Relation to Government,* etc. (1679) is only one of many omissions. It is sometimes misleading; *The Parallel* (1679) is listed without attribution to L'Estrange, who certainly wrote it, and without explanation of the fact that it had appeared a year earlier under the title, *The Growth of Knavery and Tyranny,* etc. Some notable polemics, for example, *The Growth of Popery* (1677), appear, not in the chronological list but, without separate mention, with collected works; there is, indeed, no evidence that the works of Marvell and Dryden so listed were used, though the former's connection with Shaftesbury and the development of the propaganda against "popery and slavery" surely deserve a passing reference.

Bryn Mawr. CAROLINE ROBBINS.

The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence. Edited by W. S. LEWIS. Volumes I and II, *Correspondence with the Rev. William Cole.* Edited by W. S. LEWIS and A. DAYLE WALLACE, Associate Professor of English in the University of Omaha. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. lxii, 388; 464. $15.00.)

THESE two volumes form the first installment of what is likely to be the definitive edition of the letters of Horace Walpole. This new edition

has evidently been planned for scholars, and scholars can best appreciate the patient labor and integrity which have gone into its production. The format of the volumes is appropriate to the purposes they will serve. They wear deep blue covers, solid and durable, with distinct gold lettering, capable of surviving for several generations. If they are a trifle weighty, the quality of the paper, the illustrations, and the legibility of the type, both in the text and in the footnotes, are compensating factors.

Pleasing as are the volumes in appearance, the content alone must justify the decision to re-edit and reprint the correspondence. In his preface Mr. Lewis mentions three reasons for a new edition: "to give a correct text, to include for the first time the letters to him [Walpole], and to annotate the whole with the fullness that the most informative record of the time deserves". He adds that this edition will contain approximately three hundred as yet unpublished letters of Walpole, and that of the three thousand letters addressed to him, two thirds, in whole or in part, have not been previously available in printed form. Even in the abstract these arguments are persuasive; considered in connection with the first two volumes, they are convincing.

For students of the history of England in the eighteenth century Walpole's letters have been a source of varied information, and the new edition increases their encyclopedic value. The letters to Walpole throw light on many an otherwise obscure allusion, the notes clarify almost every item of historical interest, and the index is admirable.

The correspondence with Cole, however, is not the best sample from which to judge the usefulness of the new work to students of eighteenth century history. The dominant personality in these letters is Cole rather than Walpole, and Cole's interests—English antiquities, not contemporary events—furnish the main subject of their correspondence. The fact that the two men differed too radically on matters of politics and religion to sustain a friendly correspondence on those subjects may be at the root of their usual avoidance of such topics; but Walpole's remark, "you do not deal with newspapers, nor trouble yourself with the occurrences of modern times", and Cole's reply, "Indeed you judge very right concerning my indifference about what is going forward in the world" (I, 84, 86), may explain why references to their own times are rare. Nevertheless, the letters contain infrequent but enlightening comments on the various Cambridge elections, the Lord George Gordon riots, the beginnings of Methodism, the county associations, and the chief literary lights of the age, in addition to the discussions of antiquarian problems.

Cole devoted his life to collecting notes on architecture, sculpture, painting, prints, inscriptions, manuscripts—evidence of every sort connected with England's past from the Anglo-Saxon period to his own time. Information or questions on these matters fill the correspondence. He pub-

lished little himself but supplied facts, suggestions, and stimulation to Walpole, who, in turn, encouraged Cole in his search for the unknown. "We both labour", said Walpole, "for the few of posterity that shall be curious, and therefore for their sakes you must assist me in making my work as complete as possible" (I, 12); and Cole responded in generous fashion.

To conclude, however, that their letters have little value in a study of eighteenth century history would be incorrect. For the reader who can adjust himself to the leisurely tempo of William Cole the eighteenth century will live again in certain of its gentler aspects. As Mr. Lewis intimates, one of the many advantages of classifying Walpole's letters according to his correspondents is the emphasis on separate phases of eighteenth century life. Whereas the letters in their usual chronological arrangement produce only a confused impression of men and events, the new edition should result in a clearer understanding and more faithful portrayal of the age in which the letters were written.

Very few errors or obvious omissions mar the text. On page xxxvi the Forster Manuscript appears as "Foster"; and this manuscript is omitted from the list of "Cue Titles and Abbreviations". The name Madan appears as "Madam" on page 124, note 4. For the student of art history the usefulness of these volumes would be greatly increased if the editor had consistently indicated the present location of works of art as has been done in isolated cases. To call attention, however, to these few imperfections only emphasizes the remarkable accuracy and rare judgment displayed in the work as a whole.

Wilson College. D. M. Clark.

Politische Correspondenz Friedrich's des Grossen. Bearbeitet von Professor Dr. Gustav Berthold Volz. Band XLV, *November, 1780, bis Juni, 1781.* [Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.] (Oldenburg i. O.: Gerhard Stalling. 1937. Pp. 620. 54.25 M.)

This monumental collection of the political correspondence of Frederick the Great, begun back in the days of Gustav Droysen and now slowly advancing toward its completion, is familiar to all students of modern European history. Since 1890, the year when Dr. G. B. Volz assumed the editorship, the *P. C.* has generally been accepted as a model of intelligent and thorough editorial craftsmanship.

The present volume breaks fresh ground; indeed, it offers a greater quantity of new material than any one of the previous volumes published in the past two decades. The background of these letters is supplied by the *rapprochement* between Austria and Russia and, in spite of everything that Frederick II could do to prevent it, the gradual dissolution of the Russo-Prussian alliance. Since Catherine II and Joseph II had met at

Mohilev, there had begun a grotesque diplomatic contest between Austria and Russia, in which Catherine II sought to use Austria to destroy Turkey in Europe in order to make way for her project of a "Greek Empire", while Joseph II and Prince Kaunitz sought to use Russia to isolate and ultimately destroy Prussia. In the competitive bidding of Austria and Prussia for a Russian alliance, Frederick the Great felt himself to be at a disadvantage, for he was in no position to aid Russia in the realization of her Balkan ambitions. All he could do was to point out to Catherine the "serpent that was hidden under the florid flatteries of Joseph II" and attempt to convince her that the real intention of the emperor was "to break up at any price my alliance with Russia and substitute his own" (p. 293). He saw more clearly than Catherine did that Prince Kaunitz contemplated no vigorous participation in the Russian military offensive against the Turks and that an Austro-Russian friendship was incompatible with his own alliance with Russia. In the end his efforts were in vain, and he kept up the fiction of his Russian alliance merely to avoid the appearance of being completely isolated.

Lynx-eyed, alert in every direction, quick to see the implications of every fresh change in the diplomatic kaleidoscope, combining agility with a sobriety of judgment rare in an autocrat, Frederick reveals himself in these letters at the height of his powers. The reviewer knows of no more penetrating exposition of the value and limitations of the technical devices of the old diplomacy than is to be found in this correspondence. But in dealing with Catherine II he was in a perpetual fog. This clever woman was and remained a mystery to the hermit of Sans-Souci. When he wrote to her, it was to administer heavy doses of flattery, "for if I write about politics, I fear that my letters will run the risk of not being always applauded" (p. 551). By forcing himself into the false and humiliating role of a potential suitor, he only made himself ridiculous. It is quite possible that, had he taken her more nearly at the valuation which she deserved and engaged in serious political discussion with her, he might have saved his Russian alliance.

Ohio State University. WALTER L. DORN.

Le séquestre et la vente des biens des émigrés dans le district de Rouen, 1792-An X. Par MARC BOULOISEAU. (Paris: Maurice Lavergne. 1937. Pp. xvi, 377. 70 fr.)

Liste des émigrés déportés et condamnés pour cause révolutionnaire dans le district de Rouen, 1792-An X. Par MARC BOULOISEAU. [Comité départmental de la Seine-Inférieure pour la recherche et la publication des documents inédits concernant l'histoire économique de la Révolution française.] (*Ibid.* Pp. 93.)

THE fate of property rights in the midst of revolution is again a topic

of more than academic interest. These volumes illustrate the problem, but they have the further claim upon our attention that they explore a field of French Revolutionary history hitherto imperfectly studied. M. Bouloiseau's predecessors, with two or three exceptions, have tried to combine in one treatment the sale of property of both the first and the second "origin", that is, of the church and of the *émigrés*. This plan presented serious difficulties not only on account of the mass of material but because of many questions peculiar to the history of *émigré* property, such as the processes of sequestration, confiscation, and other steps preliminary to sale. The consequence has been that these questions have been dealt with too summarily. The author's first intention was to study the phenomena for the whole department of the Seine-Inférieure, but the documents were so voluminous and the problem so complex that in the present work he has restricted himself to the single district of Rouen. This district has, morever, an interest of its own, not only because of the contrasting elements of town and country, but because in the city of Rouen, as the seat of a notable parlement, ideas of law and order and of individual property rights were unusually strong. The district quite naturally had the reputation of being counterrevolutionary.

The author's chief results are set forth in the first of the two volumes, the second being supplementary, with its four critically annotated lists of *émigrés*, deported ecclesiastics, relatives of *émigrés*, and those condemned as counterrevolutionaries. The most illuminating discussion in the first concerns the struggle of the *émigrés*, and particularly of those members of their families who remained in France, to utilize all the machinery of the ancient customary law of Normandy to preserve what they could of their estates. Even when the Convention decreed that the *émigrés* should be treated as civilly dead and substituted the Republic for them as heirs during a period of fifty years, their brothers and sisters defended their own rights as against this new and formidable member of the family. Perhaps the most curious of all the attempts to seize the property of the proscribed was the liquidation of estates upon which an *émigré* as heir had an eventual claim, even while the holders, or *ascendants*, were still alive. The labyrinth of old and new laws became so bewildering that the local revolutionary authorities were often at a loss to find their way out to a final settlement.

Among the minor facts that the author brings out is the role of brokers and other intermediaries in the sales of furniture as well as of lands. The same names constantly reappear. Fear of the return of the old owners or enmity of their friends kept actual buyers in the background. There was much pillaging, especially in the forests. Some effort was made to save important collections of books and paintings from dispersion and loss, but, in fidelity to one of the choicest stupidities of revolutionary ideology, genealogical works were destroyed, "afin que périsse le souvenir même des familles royales". The fiscal results of confiscation in the district of Rouen

appear to have been as disappointing as elsewhere, and in this respect M. Bouloiseau confirms the general conclusions of writers like Professor Marion.

Western Reserve University. HENRY E. BOURNE.

The English Country Gentleman: A Study of Nineteenth Century Types. By CHESTER KIRBY. (London: James Clarke and Company. 1937. Pp. 255. 6s.)

PROFESSOR Kirby, in his very readable book, has wisely avoided the pitfall of generalization, a not uncommon fault in a study of this kind. There was no one type of English country gentleman in the nineteenth century, for it was a period in which individualism flourished bravely among those who had the means to indulge their tastes and ride their hobbies. The Victorian country gentleman was never subject to the regimentation imposed on his successors by taxes, electoral franchises, and the modern idea that he really has no right to exist at all.

Mr. Kirby has chosen to illustrate his study by four main types of persons, all of them attached to the land in greater or less degree, but each one very different from the other. His first essay is devoted to Lord George Bentinck, a son of the fourth Duke of Portland. One of the fathers of the British turf, this strange character entered politics under the spell of Benjamin Disraeli. There he was never of more than pedestrian service; yet he represents a spirit characteristic of the time in his desire to serve his country, although his whole heart was in the betting ring at Tattersall's.

Grantley Berkeley, a sort of Surtees figure come to life, might well represent the ne'er-do-well squire of the time. Of unfortunate birth and with little property, he spent his days in the hunting field, with a few sorry attempts at novel writing to eke out an income always too small to support his rough sporting tastes.

The Duke of Richmond illustrates the almost perfect type of great landlord and grand seigneur of which Thomas Coke of Norfolk was the most striking example. A man of enormous wealth, his sense of obligation to his dependents, his hospitality, and his high-minded devotion to public service make us regret that his like will never be seen again in England.

The fourth character is Sir John Bennett Lawes, the great agricultural experimenter. He carried on the work begun by a long line of rural scientists and was a worthy successor of Jethro Tull, Townsend, Bakewell, and others who made possible the golden age of English agriculture.

Mr. Kirby closes his book with a chapter called "The Composite Gentleman", in which he leans heavily on Whyte-Melville, whose novels were and still are the delight of all those who like to conjure up the blissful days of country houses and aristocratic pastimes. The author feels, and we most sadly agree with him, that those happy, simple days are over, and he has

done a good service in recalling them so pleasantly to our minds. The book is amply illustrated and contains helpful bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter. All in all, the author has produced an interesting and important as well as a readable volume.

Cambridge. LUCIUS J. KNOWLES.

Rome and the Neapolitan Revolution of 1820-1821: A Study in Papal Neutrality. By JOSEPH H. BRADY, Professor of History, Seton Hall College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. 201. $2.50.)

FROM the dossier of the Vatican Archives and especially from the correspondence of Cardinal Consalvi the author describes in detail the policy of neutrality of the papal government during the short Austro-Neapolitan war of 1820-21. The bloodless revolution of July, 1820, in the kingdom of Naples forced the aged King Ferdinand to grant a constitution with some form of representative government. But in the following November the king, summoned by Metternich to attend the Congress of Laibach, in spite of the oath that he had taken and of the promises made to the people at his departure, agreed to withdraw the constitution and accepted Austrian intervention to re-establish his absolute government. Since the Neapolitan government was determined to oppose resistance, an Austrian army of about thirty thousand men crossed the pontifical state and with little or no fighting accomplished its mission. In the histories of the Italian Risorgimento King Ferdinand is branded as a perjurer, and Consalvi is blamed for having backed the Austrians in spite of the papal declaration of neutrality.

The author tries to show that the conduct of Consalvi was as correct as it could be under the circumstances because, being unable to prevent the Austrians from crossing the papal territory, he offered the same privilege to the Neapolitans. The dispatches and circulars of Consalvi confirm this view; but in fact the comic-opera neutrality of the papal states worked to the full benefit of the Austrians. Consalvi had no sympathy with the Neapolitan constitutionalists, for the contagious example of Naples encouraged revolutionary movements in the restless papal states. But on the other hand, Consalvi had no love to spare for Metternich, whom he had outwitted at the Congress of Vienna in the question of the Papal Legations. A formal alliance of the pope with Austria against Naples would have put the papal territories and their resources at the disposal of Austria, and the danger of an Austrian occupation, perhaps permanent, of the Legations would have been greater than under a proclamation of neutrality. In the latter case the eventual Austrian occupation was at least theoretically under protest.

The author has fulfilled his task with great diligence and accuracy

though not always with due discrimination. To accept, for instance, as true the traditional Vatican *leit-motiv* that the Italian revolutionary movements were entirely the work of secret sects which aimed at the destruction of religion and the church is to perpetuate a bugbear which Catholic historians after the Lateran Treaty of 1929 began to discard. It is also rather inexact to speak of the Neapolitan constitutional government as a *carbonaro* government *tout court* and of the Neapolitan army as a *carbonaro* army, even though the revolution was started by the *carbonari*. Moreover, and this is perhaps a more serious defect, the author fails to make clear certain implications of his subject that are of significance in the general history of the Risorgimento. One of these is the ground on which the pope justified his neutrality: as the supreme head of the Catholic Church he could not wage war against any country. This argument had been used for the first time only a few years before in connection with Napoleon's *bloc continental;* formerly popes had of course waged wars—often with disastrous results. A tradition of neutrality was thus established which was followed by Pius IX in 1848. Again, the total inability of the Papal States to resist political pressure and to obtain even the most elementary respect for their sovereignty, including their right of neutrality, made it evident that the Italian problem could not be solved unless the Papal States were absorbed into a larger unit capable of defending itself. Last but not least, it became clear that the populations of the Papal States could hope for no reform in the system of clerical absolutism by which they were ruled. Consalvi said in 1820: "If any government in its elements is in contrast with those of a constitutional government, it is the papal government. . . . The fundamental principle of constitutional government, if applied to the government of the Church, becomes a principle of heresy" (p. 15). Hence Consalvi concluded that a constitutional government, which was impossible for the church, was also impossible for the Papal States. Constitutional government for Italy involved the abolition of the temporal power.

Harvard University. G. La Piana.

The Life and Letters of Col. William Light. By M. P. Mayo. With a Foreword by A. Grenfell Price. (Adelaide: F. W. Preece and Sons. 1937. Pp. xvii, 263.)

Those who are interested in the beginnings of South Australia have waited long for a full knowledge of the source material which the Mayo family inherited from Maria Gandy, Colonel Light's housekeeper, and which her granddaughter, Penelope Mayo, taking advantage of the auspiciousness of the centenary period of South Australian history, has here utilized. In an appendix she has reproduced some of it, perhaps the larger part but obviously not the whole. In some respects it falls short of expectations, which had evidently been too sanguine. Points that were baffling

when Mr. Thomas Gill and, more recently, Dr. Price wrote their biographical sketches are baffling yet, as, for example, whether or no Light's mother was a rajah's daughter and the island of Penang her dowry. Since Boulger, in his *Life of Sir Stamford Raffles,* so positively disputed the truth of the latter, it seems idle to base conjectures upon it and equally idle, perhaps, to try to account for Light's extreme sensitiveness by surmising that Malay blood ran in his veins. The supersensitiveness, even petulance, that he displayed, and not alone in his dealings with Governor Hindmarsh, constituted a serious defect in an otherwise fine character and precludes his being adjudged a truly great man, notwithstanding his achievement ranks high. Neither was Hindmarsh a great man, but his was no easy position. For all the trouble that arose between these two, the chief blame should be ascribed to the colonization commissioners, who belittled the crown representative, exalting their own. Not even excepting Light's letters to Wakefield, the most illuminating in the appendix are those of Hindmarsh to Light.

As was to be expected, the most satisfactory part of Miss Mayo's life history of the "Founder" of South Australia, the fullest to date, is that which deals with his concluding work. She has paraphrased his own *Brief Journal,* supplementing it by material from the Public Record Office, contemporary newspapers, and practically all the known sources and authorities. The "Hack Diary" she does not specifically mention, and of the "Pullen Journal" and the "Last Diary of Light" she leaves the whereabouts and exact nature obscure. Her discussion of the Peninsular War is sketchy, being dependent upon Light's own narrative of the part he played and the reputed D'Urban memorandum, with one lengthy quotation from Sir William Napier's classic. She apparently did not consult Oman or any of his sources of information. Light's wife, Mary Bennet, from whom he had become estranged before he went to South Australia, was one of the natural daughters of the third Duke of Richmond and, therefore, a cousin of the Napier brothers, through whom he probably met her.

Aberdeen, Washington. ANNIE HELOISE ABEL-HENDERSON.

Bismarck and British Colonial Policy: The Problem of South West Africa, 1883-1885. By WILLIAM OSGOOD AYDELOTTE. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 179. $2.00.)

THIS welcome addition to the limited historical literature in English on Germany's colonial empire is timely in view of the many signs now pointing to a revival of that empire. The scope of the book is defined by its subtitle, "The Problem of South West Africa". It is a review of Bismarck's complex negotiations with England concerning Germany's first colony. The author reaches his conclusions through a meticulous examination not only of the diplomatic exchanges but also of the parts played by two other principals in the affair: Count Münster, German ambassador in London, and Herbert

Bismarck, special emissary. The result is an exceedingly thorough piece of work. Four appendixes enrich the study, the most important being a critical examination of the British Blue Book and the German White Book on South West Africa.

The author claims that research in hitherto unexplored or inaccessible sources, especially unpublished documents in the British and German foreign offices as well as private papers of Gladstone and Granville, has enabled him "to tell the story in a new light" and to suggest "several additions" (p. vii). There can be no doubt that Dr. Aydelotte has retold the story of the South West African controversy more fully than it has been told before (in English), with a wealth of detail, and that he has amplified those aspects of it that were formerly hazy, incomplete, or merely intimated. But one fails to see that he has added anything essentially new. In the main, his conclusions (pp. 133-34) were known before, though not so completely comprehended. Even his full rendering of Bismarck's famous dispatch of February 4, 1883, inquiring about British claims to Angra Pequena adds little, since his view of the impression it created in England has always been the accepted one. Scholars, however, will gladly welcome the confirmation of their surmises regarding many hitherto inadequately understood facts, now so authoritatively supplied. Among these are: the concrete blocking of German aims by the Cape government; the extent of Münster's misunderstandings; the exaggerated influence of the British colonial office; the seriousness of British muddling.

With one of the author's conclusions the reviewer begs to disagree, namely that Bismarck did not determine upon a colonial policy until after February, 1883 (pp. 29-30, 133). To accept this conclusion is to ignore all the existing evidence showing that Bismarck played an important and cooperative part in German colonialism prior to that date and to agree with those writers in English who, contrary to German authors, represent him as having been pushed into a colonial policy by circumstances. The proof adduced to support this conclusion is not convincing; even the author himself seems not too sure of it when he says: "it now appears that, at the time of his first inquiry, Bismarck probably did not desire colonies" (p. 30). Space precludes a marshaling of the very considerable evidence on the positive side of this controversy. But one important consideration, at least, may be urged: the author's intensive study has been confined to South West Africa, too limited a sphere from which to deduce so definitive a conclusion regarding Bismarck's colonial policy. The chancellor's activities in the South Seas, in other parts of Africa, and at home in relation to the colonial movement throw considerable light upon his attitude. The evidence afforded by these other areas, which, of necessity, receives only brief and summary treatment in this book, should not be disregarded.

Columbia University. MARY E. TOWNSEND.

Documents diplomatiques français, 1871-1914. Série I (1871-1900), tome VII, *1 janvier, 1888-19 mars, 1890.* [Ministère des Affaires étrangères, Commission de publication des Documents relatifs aux origines de la guerre de 1914.] (Paris: Imprimerie nationale. 1937. Pp. xxxiii, 679.)

WITH these documents, only a few of which have appeared in print before, it is possible to fill some of the gaps in the story of French foreign policy during the period between the crisis of 1887 and Bismarck's fall. Reasons for caution on the part of France existed on every hand—the possibility of Germany's and Austria's unconditional support of Italy, Italy's promise to send two army corps to fight on the Rhine in the event of war (annexe V, nos. 272, 470), and England's obvious *rapprochement* with the Triple Alliance, the exact nature of which caused much speculation (nos. 5, 42, 89, 352, 487, 497, 504). Because the secret of the Reinsurance Treaty remained impenetrable, Russia's alleged determination to guard her freedom of action inspired some confidence and more hope (nos. 48, 266, 505). The diplomats noted the rapid succession of loans (the material on this subject is disappointing) with satisfaction, although Russia frowned upon any public discussion of their political significance (nos. 267, 276). Not even the Atchinov affair (nos. 119, 320, 329, 351), in which a few Russians were killed by French bullets, seriously disturbed these intimate relations.

For Tunis and the Egyptian question there is some fresh and interesting information. France insisted upon her capitulary rights in Massawa, not to force Italy to agree to the inspection of the Tunisian schools—that issue did not arise until weeks later (nos. 247, 257)—but to secure her acceptance of the same status as that of other countries in the protectorate. The maneuver failed chiefly because Germany supported Italy's stand against connecting the two questions and even spoke of possibly serious consequences (nos. 192, 195). Indeed, Austria later said that she would fight regardless of how the war over Tunis started (no. 300). Salisbury's proposal for the conversion of the Egyptian debt gave France an opportunity to raise the question of evacuation again. While this was clear from the *Livre jaune* (*Affaires d'Egypte, 1884-1893,* Paris, 1893), which contained seven of these documents in mutilated form (nos. 393, 395, 400, 405, 407, 409, 410), it was not known that he offered to withdraw the troops from Cairo only to change his mind a few days later (nos. 393, 409) and that France finally abandoned her earlier position that England's right of reoccupation should be limited to a brief period.

There is striking evidence of the influence of domestic politics upon foreign affairs in this period. If Boulanger was a reason for the passport regulations in Alsace-Lorraine (Herbert Bismarck spoke of erecting "une muraille de Chine", no. 107), they were not rescinded after his flight and after the success of the moderate parties in the elections of 1889, because they were regarded as efficient means for the Germanization of the provinces.

To Russia the instability of French politics remained a reason for reserve (nos. 208, 237, 242, 324). Yet Boulanger's failure and the success of the Paris Exposition of 1889 increased France's prestige. Germany became more conciliatory (nos. 368, 375). From Berlin Herbette recommended a policy of economic liberalism as a means of winning the friendship of peoples as well as of governments (nos. 505, 533). At first Bismarck advised France, behind William II's back, to refuse the invitation to the Berlin Labor Conference and then asked her to accept in order to prevent any real results (nos. 552, 563).

In the preface the delay in the publication of this volume and the omission of important documents from the preceding one—a supplement is promised for the near future—are attributed to the death of the historian in charge of this series. An appendix contains five useful reports from military attachés to the minister of war.

Duke University. E. Malcolm Carroll.

The Annexation of Bosnia, 1908-1909. By Bernadotte E. Schmitt, Professor of Modern History in the University of Chicago. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. viii, 264. $3.75.)

This is a monograph which should be carefully studied by anyone interested in diplomatic history, not only because it is an important contribution to knowledge but because it is a model which would be hard to improve. Professor Schmitt has taken the wealth of evidence made available during the last few years, particularly in the German, Austrian, and British official collections, and from this mass of conflicting testimony he has created a brief, clear narrative. Where it is possible to speak with assurance, he moves swiftly. Where evidence is missing, or where there is room for conflicting conclusions, he has cited the available facts and stated his own conclusion without ambiguity; but he has carefully cited the views of other authorities so that the reader will not be misled into a hasty acceptance of one man's judgment. He has scrupulously avoided special pleading. Indeed, on at least one important point it is probable that many readers will be led to challenge Professor Schmitt's conclusion because he has presented so much that tells against his verdict. He believes that "Grey deserves much credit for the successful ending of the long crisis without recourse to war". Much of the evidence here presented is open to a very different interpretation: Grey's fear of losing contact with Russia and his hope of winning favor with Turkey helped to create the crisis and made its peaceful solution more difficult; in the end, the extent of his triumph was that, as the author says, "he saved England's face".

Clarity and definition are, of course, attained only by sticking resolutely to the subject of Bosnia. This is in no sense a history of international

relations between September, 1908, and April, 1909. Morocco, the *Daily Telegraph* interview, the navy scare in England, and many other subjects which helped to influence the stand of the powers are mentioned only incidentally. Throughout, the reader looks out on Europe from the windows of foreign offices. The problem is thus oversimplified, but these are the inevitable limitations of a diplomatic monograph.

The picture which emerges at the end is not a pretty one. The Bosnian crisis was indeed "the nadir of diplomacy". Precipitated by Aehrenthal and Izvolsky, "two ambitious and unscrupulous men", for the purpose of furbishing the prestige of the decrepit Austrian and Russian empires, the crisis was marked at every stage by miscalculation on the part of practically every European statesman. It was these errors of judgment rather than the intrinsic importance of the change in the status of Bosnia from an occupied to an annexed province which brought Europe close to war and helped to make war in the future more certain. These errors and their consequences are here analyzed with cool detachment, entirely without the unholy glee which our generation expects in a discussion of the sins of the past generation. Professor Schmitt has done what he set out to do: he has told what happened. Thereby he has made it easier to see and to answer the deeper problem. Why was it that imaginations were so fevered and minds so incapable of sober judgment in those years?

Princeton University. RAYMOND J. SONTAG.

The Life of Lord Carson. By IAN COLVIN. Volume III. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. 463. $5.00.)

IN favor of this book it may be said that it does not indulge in hyperbole; adjectives are reduced to a minimum, and the character and career of Lord Carson are not smothered in praise. It is a hard-hitting book about a hard-hitting man, and one that the granite-like Carson would have appreciated. It has other merits; it quotes voluminously from letters, diaries, and memoirs, and it throws fresh light on the perpetual friction within the British cabinet brought about by the stress and strain of the World War.

Lord Carson, the great lawyer and advocate as portrayed in the first two volumes, remains true to form. It was his business to win briefs, not broadly and generously to play the statesman. He was, in a way, limited by his very talents. Unsurpassed in his ability to win a jury and perhaps to browbeat it, he was consistently a man of iron. His histrionic talents were comparable with those of Lloyd George; but he really meant what he said and knew what he meant.

Carson became successively attorney general in Asquith's coalition cabinet, then first lord of the admiralty and a member of the inner war cabinet; and in all three positions his strong common sense and forceful character provided a counterweight to vacillation on the one hand and to

cocksureness on the other. In 1918 he resigned, fearing lest Lloyd George sacrifice Ulster to secure peace in Ireland. A few years later he led the old guard in parliament against Lloyd George's proposal to compound differences with De Valera. Unyielding to the end, he at least succeeded in keeping his beloved Ulster outside the boundaries of the Free State. He had won his brief, the greatest in his professional career.

The punch and go of Sir Edward's personality are well reflected in these pages. One wishes, however, that the author were not so biased against the south of Ireland. We can more readily forgive Carson in this particular, since it was not so much his business to assess Sinn Fein impartially as to secure a victory for Ulster. But Mr. Colvin is a historian, and it is unpardonable that he should write as he does of Irish nationalism. Murder was done, it is true, but murder perpetrated by "Black and Tans" as well as by rebels. Of established facts like these we get no inkling; and as long as British historians write as they do of Ireland, they have no right to point the finger of scorn at Hitler's words anent communist and Jew.

Princeton University. WALTER P. HALL.

Goliath: The March of Fascism. By G. A. BORGESE. (New York: Viking Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 483. $3.00.)

THIS book has been abundantly reviewed elsewhere as literature. It displays many qualities of really great literature. But it is in the form of history. One reviewer has pronounced it to be "a great history". It is as history that it must be dealt with here. To dismiss it as not being history because it is not documented would be to dodge the issue. Professional historians are increasingly disinclined to deceive themselves into believing that all their conclusions can be squared with the documents. The historian's documentation is never complete, it is never inexorable, and inevitably we step into the breach with "an act of faith". In Professor Borgese's *Goliath* we are confronted with a work historical in form which is a stupendous "act of faith".

The Dantean wrath and scorn which fascism arouses in the author have brought into vivid play all the resources of his learning and personality. Seeing fascism as a malignant disease of our civilization, he searches out its origins in history, in the spiritual history of Italy and of European culture. He traces its development at a level where the documents can be construed only by the insight and conviction of a prophet. Fascism is "radical evil", in which we had ceased to believe; it is the black party in a historic duel between primordial anarchical egoism and an ideal of perfection which can be achieved not by reason but only by the "will and imagination" of mankind.

Searching out the relation of this profound conflict to the conditions of social life, Professor Borgese finds no help in "the professional historian". We are too burdened under "late Romantic, and especially German theories"

of "mass movements and economic struggles". He turns deliberately for inspiration rather to the great novelists, like Tolstoi and Balzac, whose fiction is "more historical than history itself".

Professor Borgese answers fundamental questions with a certainty which the professional historian, as such, cannot command. Professor Borgese knows, for instance, that the Italian nation was "the creation of Dante's poem" and has therefore always suffered from a tragic and now fatal schism of spirit, under the obsession of the idea of Rome; he knows at every step the innermost motives of Mussolini's soul. Such knowledge can be derived only from intuition and personal experience; it carries conviction in proportion to the depth of the intuition, the richness of the experience, and the art of the writer. The professional historian is well aware that even his most modest conclusions also contain an element of judgment, "an act of faith"; but if this act is not controlled by a profound regard for what he can expect all intelligent minds to accept as known, he is abusing his credit as a historian. He too will exercise his art; he may venture his guess; but he knows that the final answer to certain questions transcends the limits of his craft.

Besides being a Philippic against fascism, Professor Borgese's book is a challenge to the whole position of the professional historian.

The Johns Hopkins University. KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

International Relations since the Peace Treaties. By E. H. CARR, Wilson Professor of International Politics in the University College of Wales. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. viii, 284. $2.75.)

The Press and World Affairs. By ROBERT W. DESMOND. With an Introduction by Harold J. Laski. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1937. Pp. xxv, 421. $3.25.)

THESE books have little in common, although both lie in the general field of international relations.

Professor Carr has given in small compass a concise and well-written survey of international affairs from 1920 to the close of 1936. Its value is in its interpretation of events. The author, who writes from the background of twenty years in the British foreign office and diplomatic service, analyzes and clarifies the complicated economic, financial, political, and military factors of this period and shows the close interrelationship between them. He divides the sixteen years after the peace treaties into four parts. The first was the period of enforcement, 1920-24, when Germany lay crushed and France was the dominant power on the Continent. The second was the period of pacification, 1924-30, when it was believed that foundations of permanent peace were being laid, when the League of Nations was at its zenith, and an international campaign against war was started. But this golden age of the postwar world was short-lived; it was followed by the period of crisis and the return of power politics, 1930-33. This unfortunate

recession was caused in part by the economic breakdown which became general in 1930 and in part by Japan's occupation of Manchuria, which, as a result of its influence, is regarded as "perhaps the most important landmark hitherto reached in post-war history" (p. 171). The fourth and final period is marked by the re-emergence of Germany and the repudiation of the treaties, 1933-36.

The volume gives an admirable bird's-eye view of recent international relations. It is particularly successful in weaving into a clear design the tangled threads of European diplomacy. In its treatment of the Americas and of the Far East there is not the same degree of accuracy and familiarity. For example, the American Neutrality Act of 1935 contained no provisions regarding "key products" (p. 247); nor could the Shanghai incident of May 30, 1925, be regarded as the result of "a peaceful demonstration" of Chinese students (p. 157). There is, perhaps wisely, no discussion of the outlook for the future or of the methods which might be used to bring about a better international world.

Dr. Desmond gives a history of the press of the various countries and a description of the processes and influences involved in reporting the news of the world. Among the topics discussed are: methods of gathering news, special correspondents, press associations and governmental control, cablegrams and radio, censorship and propaganda, and in some detail the characteristics of the important dailies of the world. There are many photographs of leading newspapers and reproductions of cable messages which illustrate the technique of sending news from foreign countries. In his evaluation of the press of today the author concludes that a "free press" exists only in the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries and in France, Holland, and Switzerland. In all other lands the government controls in varying degrees the foreign news. The methods may be indirect, as in Argentina, or direct, as in Germany, Italy, and Soviet Russia, where the press is regarded as an agency of the state. There is no attempt to evaluate the influence of the press in forcing any government to adopt any particular policy or course of action. The value of the volume lies in the insight it gives into the methods of the press in providing foreign news and the knowledge it furnishes of the probable degree of reliability of information from various press associations and leading dailies of the world.

Clark University. GEORGE H. BLAKESLEE.

NEAR AND FAR EASTERN HISTORY

History of the Arabs. By PHILIP K. HITTI, Professor of Semitic Literature on the William and Annie S. Paton Foundation, Princeton University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xvii, 767. $10.50.)

ALTHOUGH it does not break new ground, this book is certain of a place of honor in a historian's library. It is a clear, accurate, and documented

summary of the rise, the achievement, and the decline of the Arab civilization, from the earliest times down to the conquests of Selim I in the sixteenth century; it presents the facts and expounds their significance with, on the whole, a nice balance between narrative and analysis; and its value to the student of history will be all the greater as it is the work of an Arab scholar who is equally at home in the original Arabic sources and in the acquired language in which he writes.

The narrative falls into five parts, of which one—that devoted to the Umayyad and 'Abbasid empires—occupies nearly one half of the volume and reveals the author at his best as exponent and interpreter. It is easily the most thorough portion of the book and the least open to criticism on the score of inequality. In the other sections, notably in Part I (The Pre-Islamic Age) and Part V (The Last of the Medieval Moslem States—a somewhat inappropriate title), the narrative tends to drop down to a bare and unduly detailed enumeration of facts without sufficient indication of their relative significance. This is partly to be accounted for by the paucity of source records relating to those two periods; but even when due allowance is made, the reader is left with the impression that the author's sense of historical continuity is keener when he is dealing with positive achievement than when he is reviewing the static conditions of the pre-Islamic period or the desolate reaches of the post-'Abbasid decadence.

The picture which Professor Hitti gives of the cultural activity set in train by the Arab caliphs is altogether admirable, and no praise could be too high for the thoroughness and the skill of his treatment. Names and facts abound, and a recital might easily have acquired the tedium of an inventory. The author is to be congratulated on having produced a summary which, while reasonably complete, is both interesting and vivid. He draws a clear distinction between the age of translation under the early 'Abbasid rulers in Bagdad (eighth and ninth centuries) and the period of creative activity which sprang from it and dominated the intellectual life of the civilized world in the four centuries that followed. The Arab and Arab-inspired contribution to the march of civilization is outlined in some detail, with a discriminating sense of selection and a proper emphasis on the distinctive features of that contribution. As the tale of those centuries unfolds itself, the remarkable universality of the Arab effort is brought vividly into view. Science being still in its infancy, it was possible for a medieval thinker to acquaint himself intimately with, and to undertake pioneering researches in, a variety of outwardly unconnected sciences. Examples abound of men who applied their genius to the different fields of knowledge simultaneously, not out of mere versatility but from a deep sense of the interdependence of the several branches of learning. The universality of the Arab contribution, in another sense, is similarly exemplified by the multitude of names of scholars who were neither Arabs nor Moslems

but who, having acquired Arabic and absorbed its culture, became identified with it and rose to a place of honor among its most eminent exponents. The absence of racial or sectarian exclusiveness is one of the distinctive features of the golden age of the Arab civilization, and one which the student of contemporary history will recognize as a characteristic of modern Arab nationalism, with its emphasis on the criteria of language and culture rather than those of racial descent or religious allegiance.

One criticism that may be made is that the author is, now and again, unduly positive in his conclusions. Not everyone will agree with his assertion that the real object of the Mu'tah expedition—the first encounter between Islam and the Byzantine Empire—was to secure a supply of swords (p. 147). Indeed the whole of his chapter on the conquest of Syria, while accurate as to the facts, shows evidence of an insufficient regard for the psychological and social factors which played so important a part in facilitating the Moslem advance. In his list of references there is no mention of De Goeje's *La conquête de la Syrie* or of Professor Louis Massignon's essay in the *Revue du monde musulman* (Vol. LVII, 1924) on the sociological aspects of the Islamic conquests, neither of which may be overlooked on account of the light they throw on the subject. In chapter XXVI Professor Hitti's assertions about the Arabization of the Fertile Crescent are similarly open to question, more particularly in regard to the adoption of Arabic as the language of common usage. In his view, the use of Arabic did not become universal until the latter part of the 'Abbasid period, that is to say some four centuries after the Moslem conquest. This assertion is, to say the least, highly debatable, especially as the process of Arabization in that area had begun long before the conquest and had received a considerable impulse under the rule of the Ghassanids in Syria and of the Lakhmids in Iraq in the two centuries that preceded the establishment of the Moslem domination.

One of the virtues of Professor Hitti's book is that it reveals none of the bias with which the works of non-Moslem students of Islamic history are sometimes informed. Yet it must be said, without calling his impartiality in question, that he appears to underrate the moral influence of Islam as a factor of progress in the Middle Ages. He writes:

> What we therefore call "Arab civilization" was Arabian neither in its origins and fundamental structure nor in its principal ethnic aspects. The purely Arabian contribution in it was in the linguistic and to a certain extent in the religious fields. . . . The Arab Islamic civilization was at bottom the Hellenized Aramaic and the Iranian civilizations as developed under the aegis of the caliphate and expressed through the medium of the Arabic tongue (p. 174).

The statement is fair enough, so far as it goes; but it overlooks the spiritual factor, or at any rate does not do justice to the magnitude of its share in the revival. It was as a result of the preaching of Islam and of the impetus

it gave to pious endeavor that the Arabs developed an interest in intellectual pursuits, first in the realm of theological interpretation and thence in the fields of philosophy, science, and the arts. The new faith had given them new standards, values, and ideals, and an incentive, on the one hand, to establish a system of philosophical justification for them and, on the other, to glorify the revelation embodied in the Koran. The impulse was primarily spiritual, and it expressed itself according to the resources of the age by infusing new life into the debilitated cultures of the Near East and endowing them with creative capacity. None but a spiritual force, and a powerful one at that, could have united and co-ordinated such a diversity of hybrid cultures and raised them to the level they attained under the stimulus of Islam.

Maadi, Egypt. GEORGE ANTONIUS.

The Memoirs of Sir Ronald Storrs. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1937. Pp. xvii, 563. $5.00.)

The Syrian Desert: Caravans, Travel, and Exploration. By CHRISTINA PHELPS GRANT. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xv, 410. $5.00.)

As a raw cub from Cambridge, where he had come under the influence of that distinguished orientalist E. G. Browne, young Ronald Storrs in 1904 joined the Anglo-Egyptian service. For five years he held minor offices while Lord Cromer was endeavoring to introduce peace, progress, and prosperity into the land of the Nile. In 1908, already a master of several languages, including Arabic, French, German, Italian, and Greek, Storrs became Oriental secretary to the British agency, a position which he held for eight years under Sir Eldon Gorst, Lord Kitchener, and Sir Henry MacMahon. Of the characteristics and achievements of these personages, as well as of the many Egyptian ministers, high functionaries, and members of the khedivial family with whom he had official dealings, he presents intimate revealing sketches in vivid terms. As the World War began to draw within its widening circle the various regions of the Moslem world, Storrs undertook several diplomatic missions to al-Hijaz, whither he introduced Lawrence, and had a hand in the events leading to the Revolt in the Desert. Lawrence considered Storrs "the most brilliant Englishman in the Near East". When in 1917 General Allenby took Jerusalem, Storrs was appointed military governor of the Holy City, to be made later its civil governor. From 1926 to 1932 he was governor and commander in chief of Cyprus.

While these racy *Memoirs* by a distinguished colonial administrator are not an official history, they explain and supplement official history. As witness of and participant in some of the most stirring events of the prewar, war, and postwar periods in a most turbulent area of the world, the author

deals with the happenings with a detachment and objectivity that immediately win him the confidence and admiration of his reader. The narrative, already replete with human interest, is enlivened with dashes of humor and apt quotations from the classical and modern literatures. His chapter on Zionism is one of the most judicious statements on the subject ever penned. Only rarely do his deep insight into human nature and wide international outlook seem to fail him. His judgment, for instance, of the Egyptian nationalist leaders, Mustafa Kamil (p. 81) and Sa'd Zaghlul (p. 120), is somewhat colored by the views of an official of imperial England.

In his translation and transliteration from Arabic Sir Ronald, whom the reviewer remembers hearing use excellent Arabic in the bazars of Jerusalem in 1922, made only a few errors. Unfortunately, the only word in the whole volume reproduced in Arabic characters is misspelled (p. 157).

Between Palestine, the major scene of Sir Ronald Storrs's activity, and al-'Iraq extend the barren wastes commonly called the Syrian Desert. Despite its historic and geographic importance, this desert has never before formed the subject of a book on the part of any scholar. From ancient records of Egypt and Assyria, medieval Arab geographies and histories, and modern reports, books of travel, and English and French newspapers the author has culled, with diligence and care, the salient facts that tell the story of this territory as a bridge between Syria and Mesopotamia and, in later times, between the Occident and the Orient. From about 1000 B.C. the transdesert routes were frequented by traders, travelers, and armies. The rise of the ephemeral kingdom of Palmyra in the early Christian centuries, and after that the Moslem caliphate, which included both horns of the Fertile Crescent with the desert bay in between, gave impetus to this east-to-west and west-to-east movement. With the breakup of the Moslem empire a slump set in; but in the eighteenth century the Syrian Desert, with all its hazards and uncertainties, came to be recognized as the most convenient short cut between Europe and Asia and was favored by European missionaries and travelers as well as by servants of the British East India Company.

Mrs. Grant's book does not treat of routes, caravans, and trade only. It includes the religious pilgrimages of Islam, the history of Near Eastern exploration, the workings of the postal services under the 'Abbasids, Mamluks, and Ottoman Turks, and finally the modern era of mechanical transport by British, French, and Syrian companies which have substituted the motorcar for the camel as "the ship of the desert". The data are supplemented by the author's experiences during her sojourn of four years in the Near East and are set against the geographical and ethnological background, which takes into consideration the flora and fauna, the watercourses, climatic conditions, desert life, and Bedouin tribes and manners.

This book, unique in the sense of having no precedent and no rival, is

unfortunately somewhat verbose in style. The synthesis leaves much to be desired. No scientific system of transliteration from Arabic is used; the author devotes an appendix of five pages to the discussion of this problem but does not seem to have sufficient control over the language. The digressions (see p. 199, l. 16) have led Mrs. Grant to historical and cultural fields where she is not at home and have netted her a crop of inaccuracies. In the glossary she makes the Zengids a dynasty of Bagdad (p. 310) and equates the Ka'bah with the Black Stone (p. 305). The bibliography and the appendix entitled "Notes on Sources" are, however, excellent.

Princeton University. PHILIP K. HITTI.

Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent: A Study in the History of Japan with Special Reference to her International Relations with China, Korea, and Russia. By YOSHI S. KUNO, Sometime Chairman of the Department of Oriental Languages in the University of California. Volume I. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1937. Pp. xvi, 373. $4.00.)

FACULTY members of the University of California in the departments of political science, economics, history, oriental languages, and Slavic languages organized themselves into what they called "The Northeastern Asia Seminar of the University of California" to launch publication of research problems and investigations undertaken by interested scholars. The present volume, representing the first publication of the series, is the first of three volumes on the subject and covers fifteen centuries, beginning with very early times and coming down to the end of Hideyoshi's overseas expedition. Four chapters of monographic text with an appendix of notes are followed by English translations of important documents selected from Japanese, Korean, and Chinese sources.

With several faculty members of various departments of the university in co-operation, it is singular that Professor Kuno's approach is exclusively political. His interpretation throughout follows that of historians who wrote when cultural history and economic interpretation were little known. It should be pointed out in this connection that the secondary Japanese sources consulted by Professor Kuno are mostly those of Meiji scholars of two decades or more ago. No reference is made to illuminating research made since then by such Japanese historians as the late Drs. Miura and Ikeuchi, Professor Akiyama, and Prince Tsukuba. This ignoring of recent Japanese scholarship on the part of a Japanese scholar is conspicuous in contrast to the painstaking eagerness of such American scholars as the late Dr. Robert Reischauer, who incorporated, as best he could, the results of recent Japanese scholarship in his *Early Japanese History*.

The book is replete with bold statements, such as: "From time immemorial, the military authority has been regarded in Japan as a sacred

imperial prerogative" (p. 7); or, "China has always been a peace-loving nation" (p. 26); or again, "prior to the fifth century, when Japan came into contact with Korea, she was a military nation without any elements of civilization" (p. 30). Professor Kuno has a habit of confusing geographical names with political or historical ones. Thus "China", "Korea", and "Japan" often stand for dynasties or governments in these lands without discrimination as to their periods or territorial extents. Similar inaccuracies are carried over into the editing. Most Chinese and Korean names are susceptible of three readings—Chinese, Korean, and Japanese. Some standard of reading should have been set up to avoid confusion.

The signal contribution of this work is to be found in the second part, containing the translations. There are errors of omission here, for Professor Kuno completely ignores one of the earliest and most important documents found in Chinese sources concerning Japan and its people, that is, the statement concerning Japan and the Japanese contained in the *Records of Wei* of the three kingdoms. The importance of this document was recognized by early Western writers on Japan. Aston tried to include it *in toto* in his *Early Japanese History;* Murdoch also gave it careful attention when he compiled his *History of Japan.* When these authors wrote, however, reliable manuscripts were not available, documentary study was also in its infancy, and linguistic guidance in the reading of place names was inadequate. The document still remains controversial in many points. Because of the growth of critical scholarship in Japan, the situation has gradually changed for the better, and it is high time that a new translation be attempted, for the document is indispensable to the student of the early history of Japan.

Those, however, who have had some experience in translating these historical records are keenly aware of the tremendous difficulties with which Professor Kuno has had to contend. His presentation of state papers and imperial edicts of the Yuan and Ming courts of China, among others, are at once reliable and revealing. The book therefore will be of immense help to Western students who have been deprived of access to these sources.

Columbia University. RYUSAKU TSUNODA.

Forty Years of American-Japanese Relations. By FOSTER RHEA DULLES. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1937. Pp. vii, 289. $3.00.)

Japan in American Public Opinion. By ELEANOR TUPPER, Academic Head of the Emma Willard School, and GEORGE E. MCREYNOLDS, Instructor in History, University of Maine. Introduction by Dr. George H. Blakeslee. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xix, 465. $3.75.)

THE theme of Mr. Dulles's book is the failure of the Open Door policy. The Washington Conference, in effect, coerced Japan into appearing to accept a settlement of the Pacific problem which she believed to be contrary

to her material interest. The Washington treaties, however, provided no adequate means of enforcing compliance on the part of recalcitrant signatories. Thus the Washington Conference, which appeared to enact into law the twin principle of the Integrity of China and the Open Door, actually continued the weakness which had characterized these policies from the beginning, namely, the lack of sanctions. Lacking political force to support these principles, they have always been little more than red rags to enrage Japan, while at the same time they lured adventurous Westerners into China with vague promises of protection. Mr. Dulles regards the Neutrality Bill of 1937 as merely another and more conclusive evidence, like the Root-Takahira and the Lansing-Ishii agreements, that the American people are prepared to accept the Japanese thesis of an exclusive sphere of influence for the Japanese in China. Thus in 1937 the United States conceded in full what it protests against in principle, just as in 1917 and in 1907. In truth there was never a time, unless it was in 1920, from the day John Hay signed the Open Door notes and the famous circular of July 3, 1900, when the American people would support them with the use of coercion. Mr. Dulles's book is well written, undocumented but supplied with brief bibliographical notes, and is suitable for a rapid survey of or brief introduction to four decades of history on which the literature and documentation is now quite voluminous. Mr. Dulles does not mention the secret article of the Lansing-Ishii agreement, which was exposed some years ago by Professor Borchard.

One always picks up a book on "public opinion", wondering how successful the author can be in isolating for scientific study such a complex phenomenon. Tupper and McReynolds have sought to describe the fitful and changing moods of American public opinion about Japan by study and classification of contemporary newspaper and editorial comment, supplemented by congressional debates, government documents, and public statements by representative individuals and by some pressure groups. There is an excellent, though brief, introduction by Professor George H. Blakeslee. The study covers the period from the Russo-Japanese War to 1936. Two chapters deal with the immigration question. Frequently one pauses in reading the book to ask, in the face of so many cross currents of opinion over particular issues, just what was the *public* opinion. The book is successful to the extent that it discloses the cross currents, but it does not help very much toward understanding why there has been so little unity of thought. In fact the value of the study lies right here: American public opinion has never jelled on Japan as it has on the Monroe Doctrine. There has never been an episode in the Far East since the attack on the Peking legations in 1900 which was sufficiently immediate to American interests, or so timed, as to arouse Americans as President Cleveland was able to do over British actions in Venezuela. From time to time Japan has done things which aroused in the United States a wave of righteous indignation, but it was

analogous not to the anger of a neighborhood over some misdeed close at hand but rather to the comment of someone in New England on an episode in some community in Georgia. At its height, or at its heat, American opinion about Japan never crystallizes to a point of more than "something ought to be done about it". *Japan in American Public Opinion* will be increasingly valuable to students in the years to come.

Hague, New York. TYLER DENNETT.

China and the World War. By THOMAS EDWARD LA FARGUE. [Hoover War Library Publications.] (Stanford University: University Press. 1937. Pp. x, 278. $3.25.)

Chung-Hua Min-Kuo Wai-chiao Shih [a history of the foreign relations of the Chinese Republic]. Volume I. By CHANG CHUNG-FU. (Peking: Peking National University Press. 1936. Pp. 601. $1.80, Chinese.)

THESE two studies present the best accounts available in their respective languages of China's foreign relations during the years with which they are concerned. Professor Chang's book deals with a broader period, namely from the founding of the republic in 1912 to the end of the Washington Conference. Dr. La Fargue begins with the outbreak of the World War and emphasizes especially the negotiations with respect to the Twenty-one Demands, Japanese-American rivalry in China and the Lansing-Ishii Notes, the internal and external factors attendant upon China's entrance into the war, and the republic's role in the war and at the Peace Conference. Recently available source materials have been extensively used in both works, with certain notable exceptions.

A comparison of the sources used by the two authors in the chapters where their books overlap and the interpretation of certain controversial issues are of interest. While both writers have maintained a high degree of objectivity, one detects, nevertheless, a sympathetic effort on Professor Chang's part to uphold China's case as against Japan and a tendency by no means as strong on the part of Dr. La Fargue to mitigate the prevailingly adverse accounts of Japan's actions in China after 1914. If each author had had access to sources used by the other, their respective interpretative shadings would have assumed a darker hue at certain points.

Thus, for example, had Dr. La Fargue been able to use the Chinese materials which Professor Chang marshals in convincing manner to prove the persistent and pervasive efforts of various Japanese official and non-official groups to fish in China's troubled waters by playing off one faction against another in order to wring concessions from the dominant faction, he would have been in a better position to understand why Yuan Shih-k'ai failed to put up stronger opposition to the Twenty-one Demands as well as his failure to restore the monarchy. Furthermore, Dr. La Fargue fails to point out the enmity which existed between Yuan and the Japanese—a

hangover of struggles over Korea in the nineteenth century. He does bring out clearly that in the competition among the powers for concessions in China the Chinese were favoring Westerners as against the Japanese, which fact needs to be borne in mind in order to understand Japan's desire to steal a march on the other imperialist powers during the war. Yuan Shih-k'ai's acceptance of the major portion of the Twenty-one Demands was the price he had to pay to retain power (see Chang, pp. 62, 63, 199).

On the other hand, Chang, while admitting that Baron Kato in his instructions to Minister Hioki as to the presentation of the Twenty-one Demands made a distinction between the first four groups as demands and the fifth group as "wishes", falls back on the argument that Hioki in presenting the demands to Yuan did not make this distinction clear, though he submits no adequate documentary evidence to prove this (p. 212). He admits that the subsequent negotiations over the fifth group were "lax", as the published records of the conferences amply testify (see an excellent work which Chang frequently cites by Wang Yün-sheng, *Liu-shih Nien Lai Chung-Kuo yü Jih-pen* [Sino-Japanese relations during the past sixty years], 7 vols., Tientsin, 1932-34, VI, 105 ff.). As Dr. La Fargue points out (pp. 75, 76), the Chinese officials chose to interpret the fifth group as demands and by so doing aroused the other powers and public opinion against Japan. Moreover, in maneuvering the Japanese into a position where an ultimatum had to be presented to bring the negotiations to a close, thereby saving Yuan's face, Chinese diplomacy scored a marked triumph over that of the Japanese.

Another point in which the two authors are at variance lies in the degree of blame accorded the various powers for frustrating Yuan's monarchical ambitions. La Fargue (pp. 81-85) attributes equal blame to Japan, Great Britain, France, and Russia. Yet his own evidence discloses that Japan took the lead both in opposing the restoration of the monarchy and in checking efforts of Russia and France to bring China into the war, for which action Yuan was asking support of his monarchical ambitions as a *quid pro quo*. It seems clear that Great Britain, as well as France and Russia, was dragged along by her ally Japan in the action taken on these two issues. Chang's account of the monarchical movement (pp. 252 ff.), based upon more extensive sources, clearly reveals Japan's policy. The Japanese were maneuvering to establish a regime in Peking more amenable to their purpose than Yuan's group; all other issues were of secondary importance.

La Fargue's account of the internal political movements during the spring and summer of 1917 as related to China's declaration of war and Minister Reinsch's role therein is full and revealing. His account of China and Japan at the Peace Conference is more satisfactory than Chang's, as he used effectively David Hunter Miller's *Diary*, which Chang fails to cite. La Fargue, however, has not quoted from or listed in his bibliography

W. Reginald Wheeler's book of the same name as his own published in 1919, which his own study has now outmoded. Nor has he cited T. Takeuchi's *War and Diplomacy in the Japanese Empire* (New York, 1935), which contains carefully documented chapters on Japan's entry into the World War, the negotiations on the Twenty-one Demands, the Siberian expedition, and the Paris Peace Conference, based for the most part on Japanese sources. Professor Takeuchi's study does not alter La Fargue's account of these developments at any important point but does serve to substantiate some of his conclusions more fully.

Chang's account of the establishment of the republic and the years immediately following is by far more satisfactory than anything available in a Western language, as is likewise his account of Sino-Russian relations after the Russian revolution. His chapter on the Washington Conference, on the other hand, adds little if anything that is new to those acquainted with the Western works on the subject, as he has relied almost entirely upon Western sources.

The foregoing criticisms detract little from the inherent worth of these two highly authoritative treatments of a complex and significant period in China's foreign relations.

Columbia University. CYRUS H. PEAKE.

French Indo-China. By VIRGINIA THOMPSON. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. 516. $5.00.)

SOME three thousand books, perhaps one third of them novels, have been published in French on Indo-China, very few in other languages. The present work, with a predecessor by Ennis, reviewed recently in this journal (XLII, 766), constitute the only useful recent works in English. Dr. Thompson in her preface outlines the classes into which the literature falls and designates the principal depositories of sources. Her bibliography lists about six hundred items, not evaluated, and a score or more of periodicals, none of which is evaluated or dated. The text contains less than seventy casual references to authorities, practically all of them official. The author has visited Indo-China and gleaned her interpretative conclusions from conversations with French colonials. The citations are too sparse to establish the writer's authority; publishers addressing a serious book of this kind to its special audience should remember that students want to know what authorities are used and where; in spite of the man in the street, footnotes do not detract from the acceptability of the scholar's work—quite to the contrary. One more criticism: the simple, direct sentences of the text, rarely longer than three lines and usually two, with conjunctive and disjunctive clauses thrown into independent relation, result in soporific cadences which unintentionally beat upon the reader's attention like steady tropical rain upon gal-

vanized iron roofs—perhaps reminiscent of the circumstances under which parts of the book were written.

This is an adequate study. There are six long chapters, divided logically under well-arranged subheads, most of the topics being quite adequately treated. The best of the discussions are those in which the chronological (basically causal) order is most closely followed. Where chronology is not observed, statements are frequently allusive and confusing. Especially valuable are the studies of native reactions to the colonial system, to the French colonials, to mechanization, and to French culture, the breakdown of the Annamite society, and the development of native nationalism. There are brief treatments of the relations of Indo-China with the nations of the Orient and the European expansionist powers.

Dr. Thompson's work is one more testimonial to the vacillating trends of French imperialism, the disunity of aims of metropolis and colony, and the overcrowding of official personnel in the colony; again it is seen that in the actual field of operations the supposedly opposite policies of assimilation and association work out to an almost identical impact of conqueror upon conquered, whether in the areas of lowest or of highest dependent culture. French Indo-China, studied for its development of a colonial philosophy, for its nurture of overseas prestige, influence in the Orient, or faraway inculcation of French culture, is one more signboard pointing to the end of a cycle of European expansion. "Save in the economic sphere the balance sheet of French Indo-China up to now has registered on both sides more destructive than constructive change."

University of California. HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Dictionary of American Biography: Index. [American Council of Learned Societies.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. Pp. vi, 613. $15.00.)

THIS index volume was prepared by the publishers, not by the editors of the work for which it is designed to be the key. Since it contains some unusual features, a statement of the contents is necessary. The first section (170 pages) catalogues the sketches in the twenty volumes with the names of their authors, the purpose evidently being to atone for the regrettable practice of the *Dictionary* itself of attaching the authors' initials to the articles with a master list for the indomitably curious at the front of each volume. The second section (75 pages) reverses the formula and indexes the authors with the titles of the sketches each prepared. The purpose here is obscure unless it be to gratify the vanity of the contributors. Unfortunately, opportunity was not taken to repair another editorial shortcoming of the

work by giving the academic connections or other information indicative of the qualifications of the writers.

The next three sections (229 pages) list the subjects of memoirs by states and countries of nativity, by educational institutions, and by occupations. These enumerations will possess considerable interest for a few specialized students but very little, it may be conjectured, for the average user of the volume. The preparation of the occupational census involved special difficulties because of the many Americans who were Jacks-of-all-trades. The compilers intended to record all the occupations named at the head of each biographical sketch. The performance, however, does not always correspond with the intent, and, when it does, it sometimes falls short of being adequate to the broader purpose. Thus, the list notes only six persons under "Agitator" and cites no cross references. Of this select number Thomas Paine, whom Volume XIV designated as "revolutionary pamphleteer, agitator, deist author", reappears only under the heading, "Pamphleteer". Not only does he fail of any religious classification, but he is not catalogued under "Political Reformer", "Propagandist", "Reformer", "Revolutionary Leader", or "Revolutionary Patriot".

The sixth and last section (139 pages) essays the task which one ordinarily expects of an index: it endeavors to make available to readers the "distinctive topics about which there are definite statements and discussions" in the 13,627 memoirs. As one diligent user of the *Dictionary,* I should have rejoiced if this part of the volume had been expanded to a point that would have crowded out the other five sections. Unfortunately, however, the quality as well as the quantity of this last section is open to question. Random sampling of the contents has yielded results such as the following. The topic, "Circulating Libraries", offers only four references and none at all to Benjamin Franklin, who established a circulating library in 1731, "the first in America" (VI, 588). Neither of the two entries under "Deism" refers the reader to Thomas Paine, "deist author" (XIV, 159). "Ohio State University" does not appear as a topic, though the *Dictionary* contains sketches of one of its presidents and several of its professors. Similarly, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* fails of mention, though the *Dictionary* accords its founder a biography (XV, 260-63), and the index notes four other St. Louis newspapers. The practice of subdividing topics is unsatisfactory. Some are given detailed analysis; but "History, Writings on" is followed by 279 unidentified page references, and "Civil War, Service in, military" marshals a solid array of items which extend without further analysis for nearly two columns. The compilers index some of the persons who, lacking separate biographies of their own, appear incidentally in the sketches of others. If done consistently, this would have greatly increased the usefulness of the *Dictionary* as a reference work. But it is not done consistently, nor is it always done accurately, as may be seen in the case

of the entry, "McLawim, John L.", which Volume XVIII, page 548, reveals to be a reference to John L. McLaurin. It is clear that readers must use this section of the volume with caution since they can rely neither on adequate coverage nor on complete accuracy.

Harvard University. A. M. SCHLESINGER.

A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles. By Sir WILLIAM CRAIGIE and JAMES R. HULBERT. Parts I-III, *A-Butterfly*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936-37. Pp. xii, 372. $12.00.)

BEFORE the completion of that greatest of dictionaries, the *New English Dictionary* (familiarly known as the big Oxford), it became evident that, gigantic though it was, this work would not cover the field with the fullness that modern linguistic scholarship demands. Sir William Craigie, the senior surviving editor, therefore proposed that it be supplemented by a series of regional and period dictionaries. Two of these were to provide an adequate lexical record of the English of Scotland; a third was to be devoted to Middle English; a fourth, to early Modern English; and a fifth, to American English. The proposal was well received, and all five dictionaries are now under way. Sir William himself undertook the preparation of the dictionary of American English, which has been compiled under his direction at the University of Chicago. The work of compilation began in 1925, and eleven years later Part I came out. At present writing three parts have been issued, and further parts are promised at intervals of six months. The work will be complete in some twenty parts, at four dollars each.

Of the scope of the dictionary the editors write as follows (Preface, p. v):

> A complete historical dictionary of American English would include and illustrate by dated quotations every word which has been current in the spoken or written language from the time when the first English-speaking colonists settled on these shores. Such a dictionary could be compiled, but only after very many years spent in collecting, and many more in digesting the material collected. Not only is it impracticable at the present time, but its very comprehensiveness would render it ineffective in exhibiting clearly those features by which the English of the American colonies and the United States is distinguished from that of England and the rest of the English-speaking world. To do this as fully as possible is one of the chief aims of the present less ambitious work, which includes, however, not only words or phrases which are clearly or apparently of American origin, or have greater currency here than elsewhere, but also every word denoting something which has a real connection with the development of the country and the history of its people. . . . Even on this basis some restrictions have been found advisable or necessary. The end of the nineteenth century has been selected as a fitting point at which to terminate the admission of new words, however common some of these may have become in recent

use. . . . It has also been found necessary to restrict the inclusion of slang and dialect words to those which are of early date or special prominence. . . .

The editors add greatly to the value of their work by systematic comparison with British usage.

Historians will find this dictionary an enormous repository of information about almost every aspect of American culture of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Every item of this information is dated with precision and supported by quotations, with systematic indication of the sources from which these quotations are taken. The earliest occurrence of each word is regularly recorded, in each of its meanings, and later occurrences are illustrated by a considerable body of quotations of various dates, down to the earlier years of the present century. Meanings common to British and American usage are given more summary treatment or left out altogether. Rare words and words of doubtful meaning are considered at greater length. A high standard of scholarly accuracy is maintained throughout. The dictionary is not without faults, of course. For adverse criticism of various features see my review in the *American Journal of Philology,* LVIII (1937), 374 ff. and that of M. L. Hanley in *Dialect Notes,* VI, xiv (1937), 583 ff. But it remains a great work, an indispensable and trustworthy tool for all students of the history of civilization in these United States.

The Johns Hopkins University. KEMP MALONE.

The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography. By his Former Students at the University of Chicago. Edited by WILLIAM T. HUTCHINSON. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. x, 417. $4.00.)

A History of American History. By MICHAEL KRAUS. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1937. Pp. x, 607. $3.75.)

THE Jernegan *Essays* are an eminently worthy tribute to an eminently worthy teacher. There are twenty-one contributors, and each of them offers a study of one historian. "These studies, taken together, do not pretend to furnish a comprehensive survey of American historiography", but in order to achieve "at least a semblance of unity, they all deal with scholars whose work is finished and who directed their research mainly toward United States history prior to the close of the Civil War" (p. vii). The "scholars" included are George Bancroft, Hildreth, Parkman, Von Holst, Schouler, Woodrow Wilson, McMaster, John Fiske, Rhodes, Henry Adams, Mahan, Theodore Roosevelt, Frederick Jackson Turner, Osgood, Channing, Beer, Alvord, Van Tyne, U. B. Phillips, Beveridge, and Parrington. The selection invites no question. The purpose was merely "to choose representatives of several of the leading types of historians" (p. viii).

Dr. Kraus, aiming, with a courage that may well excite envy, at a

survey of the whole vast field and finding himself under the necessity of formulating a canon of selection, "decided to include only those individuals who were influential in the creation of a tradition of historical scholarship and who have contributed most to the writing of American history in a comprehensive manner" (p. viii). What this means is not made entirely clear by its application. At the beginning "American history" is allowed to include Adam of Bremen, Icelandic sagas, Peter Martyr, Las Casas, Herrera, Oviedo, Lopez de Gomara, and Bernal Diaz, but of the native literature relating to the struggle of the French or the Dutch or the Swedes for colonies in America there is no mention. With the seventeenth century "American history" becomes the history of the English colonies and is so inclusive that *Mourt's Relation* receives almost two pages. With the establishment of independence "American history" becomes the history of the United States, and the canon of selection stiffens. Prescott is among those omitted because they "did not write on our history" (p. viii). "Military, naval, constitutional, diplomatic, and religious histories", the author himself points out, "are barely mentioned" (p. viii). Mahan is specifically excluded. But much is included. With some attention to the personalities of writers and to the circumstances under which they wrote, the author describes and illustrates by extracts, often copious, the contents of more than one hundred historical works, briefly annotates more than one hundred others, and offers in varying detail information concerning some of the outstanding collections of material. The introduction, after six somewhat hazy pages on the general development of American historiography, carries the reader from Adam of Bremen to the end of the sixteenth century. "The Seventeenth Century" and three other chronologically named chapters follow. Then Sparks, Bancroft, Palfrey, and Hildreth share a chapter, and Tucker, Gayarré, Irving, and Benton share another. Parkman follows and is separated from Henry Adams by "The Rise of the 'Scientific School' ". The remainder of the material is distributed in chapters entitled "The Nationalist School", "Two Historians of the People", "The Imperial School of Colonial History", "Interpretive Writings", "The Frontier and Sectional Historians", "Biography", and "Co-operative Histories". It is only upon Parkman and Henry Adams that the author confers the distinction of assigning an entire chapter to a single historian.

Dr. Kraus is apparently not interested in historical criticism in any technical sense. In dealing, for example, with the Icelandic sagas, he ignores the scholarship which has established their character and which seems essential to correct description. He starts Leif's voyage from Norway in the *Saga of Eric the Red* and ends it in the *Flat Island Book* as if the two accounts differed only about the naming of Wineland (pp. 7-8). It may be an indication of something on his conscience and may be of interest in states with a Leif Ericson Day, that Dr. Kraus makes no direct claim for

the priority of Leif's voyage. The appraisal is vague. "The consensus of modern opinion", writes Dr. Kraus, "is that Leif Ericson and Thorfinn Karlsefni landed somewhere near the New England coast" (p. 9). That they did not land together is shown by an extract on the preceding page. Dr. Kraus shows some interest in the accuracy of historians or their lack of it, but his comments are relatively few and rather incidental and lean upon published criticism with scarcely a hint of any personal examination of the evidence. Some of his references appear to have been taken at second hand. The anonymous article on Prince in the *North American Review* is credited without question to W. H. Whitmore (p. 90), and John Fiske's article on Buckle, published anonymously in the *National Quarterly Review*, becomes two "important articles" in the *North American Review* (p. 372).

Dr. Kraus includes all of the historians included in the Jernegan *Essays* except Mahan, and to some extent the two volumes supplement each other, for Dr. Kraus enlarges on the content of histories, and the *Essays* enlarge on the lives of historians and their general conceptions of history. As might reasonably be expected from the division of labor, the *Essays* show wider research and more critical scholarship. They are also in the main superior in power of analysis, in organization, and in clarity of expression, even though it is in the *Essays* that Fiske "was observed reading Comte during divine service, a thing Harvard students are said to have done for years" (p. 146). Dr. Kraus is mainly interested in criticism of the interpretive-subjective type and in this field compares favorably with most of the *Essays*, which is, however, not to be taken as unmixed compliment to either. Even with an obvious intent to judge historians by what they tried to do rather than by what a critic may think that they ought to have done, there is in both volumes perhaps a little too much judging by other standards. In calling historians to account for their selection of facts, for their sense of what was important, for their opinions, for their literary style, both volumes seem in places almost to suggest that the right of historians to be creatures of their age and environment began with creatures of that social and economic point of view which today carries the crown of ultimate historical interpretation. Schouler and Rhodes are perhaps left a little too flat. Fiske, while severely dealt with in some respects, receives perhaps too much credit for the documentation in his *Discovery of America* and too little credit for his really great service in enlarging the circle of readers of American history. Documentation does not of course prove the use of the documents. Professor Sears, in tempering blame with praise for Wilson's *History of the American People* is perhaps too kind when he writes: "There is an amazing wealth of illustrations, most happily selected" (p. 112). Dr. Kraus suggests that the illustrations "make this history much bulkier than it need be" (p. 457). A more brutal critic might suggest that a more promiscuous assortment of illustrations would be hard to find and

openly suspect that a part of the purpose in view was to make one or two volumes into five.

Turner, by reason of having written so little and inspired so much, including present controversies about the significance of the frontier, and Henry Adams, on general principles, may be regarded as the most difficult of American historians to measure. The reader, noting that Professor Avery Craven contributes the essay on Turner, looks for complete analysis and interpretation and is not disappointed. But the same reader is scarcely prepared for Professor Henry Commager's unique essay on Henry Adams. Professor Commager writes: "Of Adams alone, among the major historians, can it be said that what he was is more significant than what he wrote. Of Adams alone can it be said that, given a choice between what he wrote and what he was, we should inevitably choose the latter" (p. 198). Professor Commager chooses the latter and with deep insight and great literary charm draws an unforgettable portrait.

Together these two volumes offer an important and highly useful introduction to the history of American historiography.

Columbia University. HENRY JOHNSON.

American Foreign Policy, Formulation and Practice: Selected Readings. Compiled by WILSON LEON GODSHALL, Professor of Political Science and History, Dickinson Junior College. (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers. 1937. Pp. xxix, 553. $5.00, lithoprinted.)

THIS large volume is a useful compilation of readings on the foreign relations of the United States from 1775 to 1937. Consisting almost entirely of official statements by high political authorities, it might have been entitled "Official Interpretations of the Foreign Policy of the United States". As such, it should be used with adequate caution, since alleged motives not infrequently differ from actual motives. The problem of selection was a difficult one, for it was obviously impossible to present within the limits of even a large volume all the documents of an official type. The important phases of American diplomacy had to be determined as well as the most significant documents bearing on each phase. In a brief introductory statement Professor Jesse S. Reeves praises the compiler for his wise and impartial selections. In general this reviewer agrees with Professor Reeves, though in some respects he would disagree.

Godshall's volume is divided into twelve long chapters on as many phases of the foreign relations of the United States. These broad divisions conform in the main with general practice in the organization of survey courses on the subject in our colleges. Economic policies are not accorded a separate chapter; they receive only incidental treatment in other chapters. Yet it will appear to many that the drive for commerce, including access to markets and raw materials, and the promotion of investments as well as

their protection are among the most important phases of the foreign policy of the United States, especially in recent times. Also there is no separate chapter devoted to expansion and the official justifications therefor. Is there any more important topic in the history of our foreign relations? Moreover, the subject of the sympathy of the United States for various democratic movements in Europe and Hispanic America is all but neglected.

Aside from the problem of topical selection certain other criticisms, for the most part minor, might be made. Perhaps Jefferson should have been quoted more fully on isolationism, and more temptations to depart therefrom should have been presented, including the Samoan entanglement, the Congo episode, Grecian independence, the Kossuth affair, and many suggestions of alliance on the part of various European powers. In connection with Isthmian affairs the documents should not have been confined wholly to canal negotiations; something should have been included on the various transportation enterprises of a different nature. The explanatory notes are often inadequate for the setting of the documents. The appendix contains a chronological table with titles designed to characterize the various periods. There one finds the diplomacy of the years from 1921 to 1937 described as "good-neighbor diplomacy". Does the author mean to suggest that the foreign policy of Franklin Roosevelt does not differ from that of Harding and Coolidge? If so, might one not doubt whether Godshall has displayed in all cases that objectivity and penetration attributed to him by Professor Reeves?

Other criticisms of the nature indicated in the last paragraph might be suggested. But the reviewer has no desire to pursue the matter further. On the whole this is an important and useful work, which will be favorably received by all who remember, as they should, that it is in many respects a pioneer enterprise representing a great deal of careful labor.

The University of Chicago. J. Fred Rippy.

L'évolution du syndicalisme aux États-Unis de Washington à Roosevelt. By Robert Marjolin (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1936. Pp. 256.)

The first-hand material for this book was collected by M. Marjolin when he visited the United States under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. As one of a group of students from twenty foreign countries he became a member of a seminar at Yale University and later made a trip across the country. The result is a brief but interesting and lively account of the history, philosophy, and recent developments of American organized labor. For most of his facts and ideas M. Marjolin has turned to the traditional texts and, consequently, adds little of value to the American student.

Having observed the American labor movement during the period of the N.R.A., the author reflects the rising discontent, particularly among intellectuals, with the tactics and objectives of the American Federation of

Labor. The decline of trade unionism during the 1920's he attributes mainly to the steadiness of prices in those years, and he apparently regards it as the forerunner of the eventual eclipse of the federation by some other form of organization. But he overlooks the very substantial advance in real wages from 1920 to 1929, which, probably more than anything else, accounts for the indifference of labor to organization and the apathy with which the unions were forced to contend.

Like many contemporary writers on this subject, M. Marjolin is deeply concerned with the antithesis between the "pure and simple" trade unionism of Gompers and Green and the most modern unionism, which, for lack of a better term, he calls "industrial". In spite of the signs of life he observed in American labor, M. Marjolin closes his study on a note of pessimism and believes that the course of the labor movement in this country will be determined in the future, as it was in the past, by the cycles of prosperity and depression. But these conclusions he arrived at before the Supreme Court had reversed itself by its decisions on the Wagner Act and before the C.I.O. had been organized by John L. Lewis and his associates. If M. Marjolin were writing today, it would be interesting to have his reflection on the strides made by organized labor since 1935 and the problems raised since then by the changing relations of the labor movement to the government.

Columbia University. LEO WOLMAN.

The History of South Carolina. By DAVID DUNCAN WALLACE, Professor of History and Economics in Wofford College. Four volumes. (New York: American Historical Society, Inc. 1934-35. Pp. xvi, 462; x, 510; xii, 579; 1082. $37.50.)

VOLUME IV of this work, for which Professor Wallace is not responsible, contains biographies of living and recently deceased Carolinians, with the obvious merits and demerits of such works. The profession would have preferred a critical bibliography, which Professor Wallace is so well qualified to prepare.

The other three volumes constitute the most scholarly history of South Carolina which has yet appeared. To do justice to its merits, let us at the outset dispose of its defects.

Rather dingy, thick paper and wide margins necessitate three unwieldy quartos. While the illustrations are well selected, not all are clearly printed. The maps are worse, some being nearly undecipherable. While most of them are useful, some could have been spared, and the work improved by including maps illustrating the following: topography and mineralogy, Indian tribes, French, British, Spanish, and German settlements to 1763, colonial trade routes, French, Spanish, and Indian wars, the Revolution, the Civil War. While the style is interesting, often graceful, and usually clear, there are occasional clumsy sentences and frequent admixtures of direct, indirect,

and semi-direct discourse which are disconcerting. Internal evidence suggests that the author did not have the privilege (?) of reading the proofs; there are many trivial errors, such as "Windsor" for Winsor, "Kelerec" for Kerlerec, "1916" for 1816, etc. Volume I, page 16, reproduces Lowery's error in placing the town of Pompey in Oneida County, New York, instead of in Onondaga County. Other errors to correct in a later edition include: a casual reference to a "slave conspiracy of 1713" (I, 208), of which nothing has been said before and not much later (pp. 216, 372); Adams's majority over Jefferson in 1796 is given as two instead of three (II, 357); Calhoun was not a candidate for *re*-election as vice-president in 1824 (II, 428); the references to South Carolina College (III, 37 and *passim*) say nothing of Thomas Cooper's great influence in developing state rights sentiment and make no mention of the scientific contributions of the brothers LeConte.

Wallace displays an amazing mastery of his sources. Often it is evident that he could have written a monograph or a treatise where he has confined himself to a paragraph or a chapter. (It is to be hoped that he *will* write at least one such treatise, a history of religion in South Carolina.) Another outstanding virtue is the fearless impartiality of the book in dealing with persons, sections, causes, and movements. No reader can fail to perceive that Professor Wallace is a Carolinian to his marrow, with a deep love for his state and its people. But it is not the blind love of the narrow partisan; he perceives and records the errors of Carolina, her people, her leaders, her institutions. Whether it be Negro versus White, Tory versus Whig, Secessionist versus Unionist, aristocrat versus plebeian, the merits and faults of both are impartially set forth. While the reviewer does not subscribe to all the author's opinions and conclusions, he must admit that this book is as unbiased as is humanly possible.

Volume I covers the period from the discovery to the middle of the eighteenth century; Volume II comes to the eve of the Civil War; Volume III brings the narrative to 1934. This last contains several appendixes, including lists of governors and population statistics, four pages of errata and addenda, and an index to these three volumes. Volume IV has its own index. The following illustrates the author's style, penetration, and humor:

> The inconsistencies of Calhoun, McDuffie and Cooper merely show that men are little concerned with the meaning of the Constitution in itself, but primarily with it as a means of promoting whatever at the moment may be their vital interests. A written constitution thus becomes one of the most subtly immoral influences in our public life. For the constitutional arguments of politicians who could so completely reverse themselves for the exigencies of the occasion as did Webster and Calhoun, we may have as much respect as for the opinions of a society of astronomers whose oil stock-holding members maintained that the sun is illuminated by superheated kerosene, and whose hydro-electric owning members were sure it is a giant arc light (II, 423).

Especially valuable are the frequent chapters on economic and social conditions. Wallace shows that South Carolina antedated Rhode Island in the manufacture of cotton (II, 407). Neither Ulrich B. Phillips nor James T. Adams has perceived more clearly the real tragedy of slavery, as this quotation shows: "The intellectual and moral energy expended in defense of an impossible institution was sufficient, if differently directed, to have built an empire. Here lies the outstanding fact of Southern life. The white man, in enslaving the negro, fatally limited his own freedom in thought, in literature and politics" (III, 488).

This book is both a splendid narrative of the internal history of South Carolina and an excellent exposition of her place in the expansion of Europe and the evolution of the United States.

Hamilton College. MILLEDGE L. BONHAM, JR.

Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History. By SAMUEL COLE WILLIAMS, Formerly Justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. (Johnson City: Watauga Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 495. $5.00.)

DURING the last score of years the history of the Tennessee country has been enriched by the appearance in print of a number of scholarly contributions. No writer in the field has been more prolific, none has revealed the existence of more new and important sources than Samuel Cole Williams, jurist and historian, who has attempted in the volume under review to treat comprehensively the history of the Tennessee country prior to the American Revolution. He is to be commended for having incorporated into one book many materials, practically all of which were known to exist, but which are widely scattered. Commendable, too, is the stress which he has placed upon certain points overlooked by textbook writers, for instance, the influence of the Cherokee and Chickasaw in wrecking French plans to dominate interior America.

Judge Williams recounts in turn traditions of visits to the land by pre-Columbian whites, the advent into the region of Spanish, French, and English explorers, and early Indian relations of the rival races. In greater detail, because the relevant records are less scanty, he treats of Virginia-South Carolina rivalry for trade and prestige in the Cherokee country, native aid to the English cause in the war with France, the Anglo-Cherokee War (1760-61), the overrunning of the red men's hunting grounds by the long hunters, the boundary treaties of Hard Labour (1768) and Lochaber (1770), William Bean and the beginnings of permanent settlement (1768-69), the Wataugan experiment in self-government, and Judge Richard Henderson and the great land purchases effected by the treaties of Sycamore Shoals (1775).

The format of the book is attractive. Reproductions of ten contemporary maps and illustrations are included. Only three misstatements of fact,

relatively unimportant, were noted. Grammatical slips are few. There is an appendix but no table of contents. Chapters are of uneven length. Uniformity is not observed in footnote citations. The topics of subordinate interests which are often grouped at the close of chapters under the heading "Minor Events" could well have been omitted. In the extensive bibliography care was not always taken to list titles with exactness or, save for older works, to include places and dates of publication. The index is not sufficiently inclusive. Typographical errors abound. At several places the flow of narrative is interrupted by the insertion of lengthy contemporary accounts available elsewhere in print. A frequently indulged tendency is to quote brief passages or to make unquoted statements of fact without citing references. The earlier executive journals of the Virginia council—the extant copies are in print up to 1739—were put to good use, but the author seems not to have been aware of the availability in photostatic form of those for 1739-52 in the Virginia Historical Society and of those for 1752-74 in the University of Virginia Library.

The National Archives. W. Neil Franklin.

Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland. By Raphael Semmes. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. xvi, 856. $5.00.)

Neither title nor preface of this large book gives much indication of what it actually contains. The title may be explained by the index, where under "Captains" the reader finds "See Militia Officers". In the preface the author states that his plan was "to present the history of seventeenth-century Maryland" not chronologically but by devoting "one or sometimes two chapters to a particular phase of the life of that period". So many important phases of life are omitted, however, that one cannot say that the history of the period has been adequately presented. In fact the book is mainly concerned with the organization, discipline, equipment, and exploits of the fighting forces of the colony, both naval and military, and with the Indian tribes of Maryland, whose independent histories, as well as their relations with the white settlers, are very fully set forth.

Most writers on colonial history at the present day confine themselves to economic affairs or matters of high politics. But this book recalls that the settlers spent a great deal of time and energy in guarding against Indians, building forts and sending out rangers, fighting battles, and conducting negotiations. It tells of the Claiborne and Ingle affairs, not as conflicts of jurisdiction only but as pitched battles in which men lost their lives. It is particularly interesting also on such obscure matters as the trials of accused Indians by the regular judicial processes of the colony and the progress of the Jesuit fathers in converting the Indians to Christianity. There is information about early fur trading on Chesapeake Bay, about divers petty naval battles in colonial waters, and about piracy. Probably no other work has assembled so many data on the vanished tribes of the district. All these

things are presented at length and principally by means of quotations from or paraphrases of source material, with very little critical comment, interpretation, or summary. The greater part of the material comes from the published *Archives of Maryland,* but the author has made exhaustive use of other printed sources and has consulted many manuscripts. References and notes are elaborate.

This book represents a great deal of labor, and its excellent indexes will make it a useful quarry of information. It is carefully done, without bias or sentimentalism. But it is too long, and its array of facts, incidents, and personalities is too vast for the significance of its subject matter. A drastic condensation would have made it much more readable, while anyone who needs such a wealth of detail will most probably search the sources for himself.

Bard College. ABBOT SMITH.

Journal of the Courts of Common Right and Chancery of East New Jersey, 1683-1702. Edited and with an Introduction by PRESTON W. EDSALL. [The American Legal History Society.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1937. Pp. xi, 356.)

THE court of common right was an abortive experiment of the New Jersey proprietary government which, like the courts leet and commissary of Maryland, left no permanent impress upon American jurisprudence. Its unique name Dr. Edsall traces to English usage, according to which common right ("commune droiture") was associated with common law, but it was without parallel in the English system of judicature and was constructed in the light of colonial experience, with jurisdiction both in civil and criminal law and separate sittings in law and equity, from which later stemmed the court of chancery. On its equity side, however, it did not enjoy that full jurisdiction exercised by the Maryland chancery court. Apparently no appeal lay to the governor and council, and hence the court was really supreme in the province. When the people felt that it was too closely tied up with the interests of the proprietors it fell, and a more impartial judiciary supplanted it.

In a thorough and able introduction Dr. Edsall examines the personnel and economic attachments of the bench—a matter of first moment whether we are considering the king's bench under Edward I, the "trading justices" of Burke's day, or an East Jersey court in 1700. This court was virtually lawyerless, consisting mostly of landowners, as in Maryland, but with perhaps greater occupational variety than in other colonies, as it included merchants, surveyors, physicians, carpenters, and even a cordwainer. While these worthies appear to have acquired sufficient acquaintance with acts of parliament and on occasion with Coke and Sheppard, it is clear that they must have leaned heavily upon the legal practitioners.

Among the more notable cases included in the *Journal* and carefully dis-

cussed by the editor is Fullerton *v.* Jones, important in the eighteenth century controversy between proprietors and claimants under the Elizabeth Town patent. Of interest to students of imperial relations is the case of the ship *Dolphin,* seized in 1685 for trading without making entry as required under the navigation acts. While prosecutions under the acts had been rare, they were, with the important exception of this case, successful. This *cause célèbre,* considered as an overt act which justified an attempt to wrest the government of East Jersey from the proprietors, is not even mentioned in Miss Crump's study of colonial admiralty. Colonial admiralty studies done abroad without examination of unpublished court records in this country are necessarily insufficient.

To a few of Dr. Edsall's generalizations exception must be noted. He posits "a veritable north colonial criminal law" extending south through Pennsylvania (pp. 113, 124), evidently giving a strained interpretation to Goebel's position (*Columbia Law Rev.,* XXXI, 447). But in many matters New York and East Jersey were hardly in harmony with the Puritan colonies. The editor engages in hairsplitting in asserting that "Case and Assumpsit were (at common law) not yet so distinct" as the present reviewer has suggested elsewhere. Of course, assumpsit was generically still considered an action on the case, but the bifurcation, contemporary law reports show, had already taken place. In the New York mayor's court assumpsit supplanted case before 1700 as the remedy to recover on breaches of promise. Comparison of the evolution of the forms of action in other colonies would have been helpful to the editor. Clearly, if wager of law was not in use in East Jersey at this time, then Dr. Edsall is not correct in asserting that the procedure in foreign attachment "conformed as closely as possible to the Custom of London" (p. 69).

It is a heartening sign of the growing appreciation of the importance of making available early American judicial records that graduate schools, in this instance Princeton, are evidencing a willingness to confer the doctorate for a well-edited text in this field. The generous encouragement which both the American Historical Association and the American Legal History Society have given to such research foreshadows further co-operation between the societies and a logical division of endeavor.

The College of the City of New York. RICHARD B. MORRIS.

John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia: Being the Papers from their Counting House for the Years 1750 to 1795. Edited by FRANCES NORTON MASON. (Richmond: Dietz Press. 1937. Pp. 573. $5.00.)

THE originals of the bulk of these papers have been deposited with the Department of Research and Education of Colonial Williamsburg at Williamsburg, Virginia. The letters and "invoices" comprise 475 of the 573 pages in the volume and have been checked with great care by the archivist

of the organization for the benefit of the editor. They contain valuable material for the economic and social historian of Virginia in the eighteenth century. But specialists will need additional material, such as ledgers and other papers of the Nortons and their correspondents. In view of the belief that Virginia's history has suffered because of the lack of such source material, other Virginia families should be encouraged to follow the example here set by the descendants of John Norton.

The letters bear evidence of the increasing prosperity of John Norton's house until the Revolution. After 1775 the Nortons in London were engaged in the West Indian trade while the family's Virginian representative was establishing his position in that commonwealth, both as a merchant and citizen. The death of the senior partner occurred soon after the admission of a second son into the firm. This junior member placed the English resources of the house in the hands of a Mr. James Withers and, after having experienced grave adventures in St. Eustatius and Barbados, managed to reach Virginia, where he was granted permission to settle and was able to regain his health, liquidate some of the firm's accounts, and rear a family.

John Norton was sympathetic with Virginia in her dispute with the mother country, although he predicted that the attitude of each would bring on "the ruin of both". His letters to his son in Virginia discussed the firm's problems of selling tobacco in London, the risks involved in handling Virginia bills, the financing of shipbuilding, and competition with Glasgow. They contain other materials difficult to find elsewhere. Norton was uneasy over the mounting indebtedness of Virginia planters to his firm and was greatly alarmed at the failures of merchants in London because of this overextended credit.

Since President William Nelson and Treasurer Robert C. Nicholas of the colony were friends of John Norton, we find material relative to the politics of Virginia and Britain. The letters of Nicholas give us a glimpse of treasury methods at the Virginia capital on the eve of the Revolution. Several orders by Williamsburg's distinguished lawyer and teacher, George Wythe, show the wide range of his scholarly interests. Other "invoices" from Catherine Rathell indicate the goods that were sold in a fashionable shop. It is a matter of regret that more of such "invoices" have not been included in the volume. Excerpts from the *Virginia Gazette* add interest. The notes and biographical sketches, however, are rather disappointing.

Phillips Academy. MILES S. MALONE.

The Jacksons and the Lees: Two Generations of Massachusetts Merchants, 1765-1844. By KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER. Two volumes. [Harvard Studies in Business History, edited by N. S. B. Gras.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1937. Pp. xx, 773; xiii, 774-1625. $10.00.)

AT the Harvard School of Business Administration Professor N. S. B. Gras and his associates are studying the annals of business firms, considering

them without reference to other factors in history. This approach does not assume that business history is an isolated theme but that—as a new field—it can be best cultivated by means of specialized studies which will provide the data for a general history of business. That in turn may later be integrated with other phases of man's activities.

These two volumes edited by Dr. Porter consist chiefly of letters of six Massachusetts merchants—Jonathan Jackson, Joseph Lee, sr., Patrick Tracy Jackson, Henry Lee, Joseph Lee, jr., and Henry Lee, jr.—most of whom were "sedentary" or settled merchants engaged in diversified enterprises. Before 1800 the Jacksons and the Lees were not the wealthiest merchants of Massachusetts but, rather, rising men of substantial capital. The manuscripts for the present collection were provided from family archives of descendants of these early merchants, and the letters published have been selected with the object of illustrating the methods and organization of business enterprise. About 15 per cent of the material pertains to the period 1763-1800, the remaining 85 per cent to the years 1801-44.

The facts contained in the letters, which are largely accounts of individual transactions and directions given by the merchants to their agents, are minutely detailed and extremely technical. References to prices, currencies, rates of exchange, profits, freights, insurance, commissions, investments, drafts, bills of exchanges, market conditions, and commodities jostle each other incessantly on the pages. Since the items are highly specialized, it is very difficult for the historian to construct a general picture from them. This difficulty has required an elaborate editorial apparatus which Mr. Porter has supplied in a long essay on the sedentary merchant, in shorter introductions to each of the divisions of the work, and in notes prefacing each letter. In these comments he has explained the letters, related their particulars to larger themes, and included significant passages from companion manuscripts not printed in this collection. A list of the 530 letters published is also a useful aid. The chief limitation of the letters is that they are confined rather narrowly to the technicalities of foreign trade and hence do not show the role of the merchant in the internal economy of the United States.

One or another of these merchants opposed British restrictions on colonial enterprise, joined the revolutionary movement, engaged in privateering, supported the Constitution and Hamilton's program, opposed Jefferson and the War of 1812, defended the Second Bank, and scorned Jacksonian democracy. An intricate network of family ties (embracing also the Higginsons, Lowells, Cabots, and Tracys) extended to business relationships, suggesting that such unity may have enabled the merchants to minimize competition among themselves. As a rule they expected to secure profits by buying at the lowest possible cost, counting on fairly stable prices of the goods they sold.

Perhaps the most significant fact revealed is the liberation of the American merchant from the restraints imposed on American enterprise before 1775 by British policy. Two illustrations from the postwar years will suffice: the investments of Boston merchants in textile manufacturing and their participation in the oriental trade, enterprises forbidden to colonial investors prior to 1775. The largest part of the material in these volumes pertains to trade with India, and Mr. Porter's analysis of it (I, 51-75) is a worthy contribution. The India trade was opened to American merchants by Jay's Treaty, but the tariff of 1816 against cheap textile imports dealt it a severe blow. By that time Patrick T. Jackson had turned to domestic manufacturing, and although the Lees later invested in factories, banks, insurance firms, turnpikes, and railroads, they also continued in the India trade—until 1852, when "it was quite time to retire from commercial business. The protective tariff had slowly but surely destroyed the foreign commerce by which the merchants and shipowners of New England had hitherto lived and prospered" (I, p. 44).

University of Wisconsin. CURTIS NETTELS.

Benjamin Franklin, der Lehrmeister der amerikanischen Revolution. Von EDUARD BAUMGARTEN. [Die geistigen Grundlagen des amerikanischen Gemeinwesens, Band I.] (Frankfurt a. M.: Vittorio Klostermann. 1936. Pp. 248. 7.50 M.)

EDUARD Baumgarten is interested in the thought rather than in the deeds effecting the genesis of American nationality. He is not friendly to the wisdom which holds that the American mind is a complex phenomenon resulting from a confluence of old world culture and the American environment. Like Herder, to whom Baumgarten turns for sanction, like the young Goethe, and like current exponents of fascism, he would honor only those ideals which are the result of a plantlike, indigenous, genetic, and organic evolution. This study, then, is an explication of the concept of "Echte Republik". Franklin is allowed stature in that he is alleged to be the first American who achieved a native American way of thinking—described by Baumgarten as pragmatism. Franklin is "der Erste (rein Weltliche) amerikanische Pragmatist", that is, apart from the Puritan theologians whom Baumgarten will study in Volume III of this series. (Volume II, on the pragmatism of Emerson, William James, and Dewey has apparently been published.) The degree to which Baumgarten traffics loosely with evidence to prove that representative spokesmen of the American mind have been rigorously "American" in their ideology is best revealed in his denial that Emerson's "hoher Idealismus", his "pragmatischer Idealismus", is even in part derived from Kantian idealism. Similarly, Baumgarten does not in any important way articulate Franklin's mind with such eighteenth century master ideas as deism, Newtonian science, and humanitarianism.

Although Baumgarten does not unequivocally read away Max Weber's challenge that the core of Franklin's mind is a pedestrain quest for gold, for earthy frugality and prudence, he successfully holds that Franklin regarded wealth as a mere rational means and work as a chivalric means of achieving probity, sobriety, and temperance. Baumgarten also stresses Franklin's concern for the social consequences of his actions. Driven by a religious and socialistic regard for the community as a whole, the good doctor would dishonor any individual who failed to subordinate himself, who failed to offer his noblest and most selfless allegiance to the people's state.

Baumgarten barely escapes the charge that he has carried merely another sputtering torch in the cavalcade of those who would nurture the memory of Franklin's mind and acts. Although he eludes the Scylla of "damnable iteration", he is less adroit in avoiding the Charybdis of having bent Franklin's mind until it is congruent with fascist psychology.

Wayne University. CHESTER E. JORGENSON.

General von Steuben. By JOHN MCAULEY PALMER. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. x, 434. $4.00.)

SIMPLY written and easily read, with an abundance of material skillfully quoted, this is a good type of military biography. The writer, a retired brigadier general of our regular army, has the advantage of basic knowledge of military conditions with the possible disadvantage that he does not realize the ignorance of the lay reader. In fact, one desirous of learning more about contemporary conditions, particularly the simplifications and improvements made by Steuben in fitting Prussian tactics to American soldiers, lays down the book with a slight feeling of disappointment. More could have been said of the bad organization of the American army, and Steuben's reforms might have been described more definitely, to satisfy those who desire to understand the steps of military progress. Steuben's "Blue Book" is not summarized and treated comparatively, but the biography is doubtless the more interesting to the general reader. He learns what Steuben accomplished if not how he did it and readily agrees that next to Washington, Steuben was "indispensable to the achievement of American independence", so far as fighting was concerned.

New facts about Steuben's origins are related with touches of humor. His genealogy was falsified by his grandfather, his credentials to America by Franklin, who "sold" Steuben, then only a retired captain in desperate straits for a living, to Washington and the Congress as a lieutenant general who abandoned a good income for love of the patriot cause. But the pious fraud fortunately succeeded, for Steuben proved himself the very man for a work that was greatly needed and in which others had failed. He had the rare qualifications of an officer trained in the best system of war, who

could understand American conditions and adapt to them what in other hands would have been an impossibly rigid code. Not disgusted by the conditions at Valley Forge but admiring an army which held together under circumstances which no European army could have endured, Steuben in the first few weeks not only taught the army much but made it believe in itself. There was one brief period in which he tried for command in the field; but eventually accepting his proper sphere, as inspector general he forged the army into the weapon which Washington needed. Through the remaining years of the war (and it is a weakness of the book that while days of the months are clearly stated, the years are mostly left to the reader's computation) Steuben carried on his duties with lack of men, of materials, and of civilian support—in which last Jefferson's weakness as a war governor is tellingly displayed. At all times Steuben had to contend with jealousy felt toward him as a foreigner. In reading the facts, the student wonders again that victory was ever won.

General Palmer makes clear that Steuben was an interesting and delightful person. Unable to live within his means, he was able to touch the pockets of friends, of whom he made many wherever he went. Thoroughly competent in his work, he gave way to profanity whenever exasperated, to the secret amusement of all about him. After the war he tried various means, uniformly unsuccessful, to establish his fortunes, only to fall back upon a grant of land and a grudging pension from Congress. The meekness with which he accepted a lesson in economy from a devoted follower is touching. The reader is grateful to the biographer for making so real the personality of one of America's genuine heroes.

Concord, Massachusetts. ALLEN FRENCH.

Oliver Pollock: The Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot. By JAMES ALTON JAMES, Northwestern University. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1937. Pp. xiii, 376. $4.00.)

IN this book Professor James records for the first time the complete history of the financial aid rendered by Oliver Pollock to the cause of American independence. It is a lengthened portrait of one which the author prepared some years ago for the *Dictionary of American Biography* and for other publications. Pollock was not, therefore, a new subject; but further explorations have disclosed new data which have been woven into the narrative. The book as a whole, however, is more than a biography of Pollock; it is a veritable history of the Mississippi Valley and of the West Florida area during the periods of the American Revolution and the Confederation, at once informative, well-organized, excellently written, and thoroughly documented. The author has based his account on a study of a wide range of manuscript and printed sources and the best of recent monographs.

In connection with his account of Pollock's aid to George Rogers Clark, Professor James takes occasion to defend again his well-known thesis that it was Clark's conquest of the Northwest, or a part of it, that brought the trans-Allegheny West to the United States at the conclusion of peace. This time he brings fresh evidence in support of his opinion. Against the counter argument of his critics that the negotiators of 1782 probably never heard of Clark or of his military exploits James cites evidence that responsible British officials were aware of the facts and that the American members of the peace commission were likewise familiar with the western situation. He appears to have made a good case in this particular connection (pp. 243-46).

The reviewer is nevertheless unconvinced that the American occupation of the Illinois posts was a factor of any significance in the final determination of the boundaries. He is prepared to disregard the arguments of both James and his critics as irrelevant; both sides have approached the issue along untenable lines. There is positive evidence that the British government had decided, long before the Revolution, that the West was of no utility to Great Britain so long as Spain held New Orleans. Trade statistics bore out the belief of those in a position to observe the situation at first hand. The author makes no mention of the facts in question; nor do his critics. He appears also to overlook Lord Shelburne's statement in the house of lords in support of the treaty of 1783, in which he declared that the amount expended in preserving the fur trade had reached £800,000, a sum far in excess of the returns from that branch of commerce. The necessary brevity of this review precludes further discussion of the issue.

Some defects in proofreading have been noted. There is an excellent index, a comprehensive bibliography, and an appendix containing Pollock's memorial to Congress and a short essay on his connection with the use of the dollar sign.

Miami University. CLARENCE E. CARTER.

Western Lands and the American Revolution. By THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1937. Pp. xv, 413. $4.00.)

THIS story of eighteenth century land speculation is evidently based on extensive research. The bibliographical apparatus, with its unusually copious footnotes, points to the use of printed and manuscript sources both in this country and abroad. One reservation must, however, be made in the matter of documentation. That is the practice of consolidating footnotes to such an extent as frequently to leave the reader in doubt as to the precise authority relied upon for any particular statement—an important matter for the more critical reader, especially when debatable issues are involved.

Taken as a whole, the book is a contribution to the economic history of the period, which no serious student of the Revolution or the westward

movement can afford to neglect. In its general outlook on the interactions of business and politics, it reflects the influence on a younger generation of scholars of Beard's *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution.* One is reminded also of current political controversies by the reference to the Federal Constitution as "an instrument framed by men with so many foibles, and in some cases, of such shameless rapacity, that it is passing strange it should have come to be considered sacred and immutable" (p. 361). More definitely, this study invites comparison with Alvord's *Mississippi Valley in British Politics,* also largely concerned with land speculation but limited to the years immediately preceding the Revolution. Professor Abernethy brings his narrative up to the inauguration of the new government in 1789. Touching lightly upon the influence of British factional politics so fully treated by Alvord, he keeps more closely to the American scene. Since many land speculators were also involved in other forms of speculative business, some attention is naturally given to matters only indirectly related to Western lands. On the other hand, certain enterprises indicated by the title do not fall within the scope of the author's plan, notably those of New Yorkers and New Englanders in western New York and the "Old Northwest".

The story begins with the early Virginia projects dating back to the middle of the century, including the Ohio and Loyal land companies. These in one way or another involved Virginians of continental repute, among them Washington, Patrick Henry, George Mason, and Richard Henry Lee. Other promoters owe their distinction to Western enterprises and often to personal participation in the colonization of the Southwest. It is suggested that while those whose interest in such projects was "merely for speculation" were not limited to any section of the country, Virginia had a larger proportion of the group who combined speculative interest with actual pioneering in the new settlements (p. 302). Probably the contrast is sharpened more than it would have been if the author's plan had included such New England promoters of northwestern colonization as Putnam and Parsons.

A major interest of the author is the conflict of interests between the Virginians and the Northern promoters, more particularly the Pennsylvanians—Franklin, Samuel Wharton, Joseph Galloway, and many minor personages associated with such enterprises as the Indiana, Grand Ohio, Illinois, and Wabash companies. The lines were not always clearly drawn. The trader and land speculator, George Croghan, is shown to have pursued a shifting course between the Pennsylvanians and the Virginians in the disputed area about the forks of the Ohio. Similarly, some of the Virginians had significant connections with the Northern group. Striking also is the extent to which common economic interests brought together men who took opposite sides in the political alignment of Whig and Tory. In general, the author holds that "constitutional principle", rather than economic

issues, was the essential factor in the revolutionary movement so far as Virginia was concerned (p. 364).

A multitude of personalities and transactions receive at least brief mention in the Southern phase of Westward expansion. Much of this detail is illuminating, though it is sometimes hard to "see the wood for the trees". In a work of reference, on the other hand, the index should have been more analytical. Such heads, for instance, as "Benjamin Franklin", "Patrick Henry", or "Western Lands", each followed by forty or more undifferentiated page references—over sixty in the case of Franklin—are not very helpful.

As between the Virginians and the Northern promoters the author's sympathy is obviously with the former. Historians, he thinks, have not given Virginia her due; they have "commonly manifested a leaning toward the side of her opponents"; it is necessary, therefore, to redress the balance. That is certainly a legitimate object, but one regrets a somewhat partisan temper in the treatment of "her opponents". The case against "the Morris group" is strong enough, without accepting almost unreservedly the views of such contemporary critics as the Lees. Even the "Conway Cabal" is brought in to suggest, on the basis of rather meager evidence, that the "Morris adherents" were the principal culprits and that the Lee-Adams group were innocent victims of a malign conspiracy (pp. 185-87)—champions of Roman and rural virtue against sordid commercialism (pp. 205, 360, 368). A really discriminating presentation would have been more convincing. So with the consistently disparaging treatment of Franklin. The insistence on the "sordid interests" which are held to have largely influenced his diplomacy, especially on Western issues, seems, to the present reviewer at least, to require more thorough documentation than it receives. We are told, for instance, that he took no steps to prevent what he "professed to dread" and was "simply but covertly taking the line which had been taken by his friends in Congress" (pp. 283-85). There is some lack of the judicial temper also in the author's subsequent indictment of the land company group and their commercial associates as peculiarly representative of "that calculating sectionalism which was willing to sacrifice one part of the country to another, and which later was to drench the land with the blood of a million of its sons" (p. 366). In short, this is a valuable study, but like some other usefully provocative books, it should, to use Bacon's formula, be "weighed and considered".

Columbia University. EVARTS B. GREENE.

The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787. Edited by MAX FARRAND. With a General Index by David M. Matteson. Volume IV. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 230. $4.00.)

WE are all under lasting obligation to Professor Farrand for the labor and the scholarly attention given to the records of the Federal Convention.

Inasmuch as no other document in history—probably one may venture the assertion—with the exception of the Scriptures and perhaps the Statute of Frauds, has received so much critical and exegetical examination as the Constitution, the editor is fully justified in his earnest endeavor to make his work absolutely accurate, even though corrections may seem to be of no great significance. The Constitution and the Convention's records are likely to be of interest to students of history long after the politicians have ceased to pay any attention to constitutional law.

This volume contains corrections of errors and misprints appearing in the original edition, some of which have been corrected in later printings. It also contains "further corrections and additions" necessitated partly by the fact that letters and documents formerly unknown or inaccessible have come to light. Unfortunately the editor was unable to obtain access to notes taken by Lansing and to the papers of Charles C. Pinckney. "If and when", Professor Farrand says, "these notes and documents become accessible, as they should become in the course of a few years, another edition, and perhaps a complete revision, of the *Records* may be advisable."

The most important portion of the volume is the portion giving further corrections and additions. In fact, if we exclude the two elaborate indexes and the amendments to the Constitution, this part contains nine tenths of the volume. Here we find a few documents of some importance not appearing in the earlier edition. The most valuable addition is, probably, a speech assigned with some hesitation to Martin (June 19). Here also is Charles Pinckney's version of his own rather remarkable and able speech of June 25. Some documents, which in the original edition were copied from other books, are reprinted after careful comparison with the manuscript. For example, the document associated with the work of the committee of detail and copied in the earlier edition from Meigs's *Growth of the Constitution* is reprinted in full. Thirty-seven additions are made to the materials in the third volume, which includes sources which are not, strictly speaking, part of the records of the Convention but are of course valuable and useful.

What has been said is not intended to indicate that the volume is of no importance. On the contrary, it is intended to be a tribute to Professor Farrand's conscientious labors. It is a relief, nevertheless, to know, as he says, that "Since the publication of the *Records*, over twenty-five years ago, no documents have been uncovered that need cause any student of the subject to change his interpretation of a single clause of the Constitution."

The University of Chicago. ANDREW C. MCLAUGHLIN.

Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789. Edited from the Original Records in the Library of Congress by ROSCOE R. HILL. Volume XXXIV, *January 21, 1788, to March 2, 1789.* (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1937. Pp. x, 659. $3.00.)

HERE at long last is the concluding volume of a noble enterprise begun

as long ago as 1904, an enterprise designed to make generally accessible for the first time the complete official record of our national prologue. In this third of a century embraced between its beginning and its consummation the enterprise has had its quota of vicissitudes. For one thing, the editorial torch has been passed on from hand to hand. Inaugurated by Dr. Worthington C. Ford, who edited the first fifteen volumes (that is, through 1779), the undertaking was piloted through the next twelve volumes (1780-1784) by Dr. Gaillard Hunt and through a further four volumes (1785-1786) by Dr. John C. Fitzpatrick, whilst the completion of the task (the three volumes for 1787-1789) has been the work of Dr. Hill.

Certain changes in editorial method, as well as variations from the staple content of the earlier volumes, have hitherto been mentioned by the present reviewer, notably the inclusion of materials supplementary to the meager journal. A glance through the present volume will reveal how small a proportion of it is in that larger type that betokens the actual journal record, how large a proportion has been assembled from other sources so that the proceedings of Congress might be made manifest in more tangible substance and in more definite form.

That Congress actually stuck to its job through the greater part of the year 1788 is scarcely short of remarkable, for, even before the assembling of the Federal Convention, it had exhibited many signs of being moribund, and not a few of its own members would have been content that it pass out unwept and unsung, honored indeed for its past but contemned for its present. When, however, in September, 1787, the Federal Convention laid on the doorstep of Congress its so-called report, which was nothing less than a proposed new constitution for the United States of America, there was a pronounced perking in the old assembly. Congress must needs take a good look at the infant, must decide whether it was legitimate or waif and whether to bestow upon it a blessing or pronounce it anathema. In the end, with neither the one thing nor the other and with none too polite a gesture, it was trundled off to the thirteen states for their several inspections and decisions. After that, so far as Congress was concerned, it was for the time being a matter of holding its breath and waiting to see what might appear.

But lo! when the requisite number of states had accepted the legitimacy of the Constitution, strange was the metamorphosis! States that had all but forgotten that they were members of a union which found its chief expression in a body officially known as The United States in Congress Assembled hastened to send thither their delegates for one last manifestation of their old-time unity. For it was the privilege and the duty of Congress, whether with pride or with misgiving, to supply its infant successor with swaddling clothes and to set it up in the high chair of authority. From every direction delegates came flocking to the Congress chamber, and for a time all thirteen

states were represented—something which had not before occurred in twelve long years of struggle and strife since 1776. Indeed the summer months of 1788 present the curious spectacle of two states, Rhode Island and North Carolina, which had refused to accept the Constitution and would therefore be quite outside the new circle of brotherhood, taking an active part nevertheless in the preliminaries of setting up the new government. One of them indeed had had no hand in the making of the Constitution, had even snubbed the Federal Convention with a "Depart from me, ye that work iniquity!" Yet, notwithstanding these things, Rhode Island was as eager as any to attend the going-out party of the Old Congress. The case of North Carolina was different, for in that state the door of faith had never been closed.

It is not of course to be inferred that in all these months Congress was entirely neglectful of the tasks whereunto it had been called. As Dr. Hill points out in his prefatory note, Congress actually considered a great amount of business of one sort or another, for urgent national problems continued to press upon the minds and consciences of its members. Let it at least be placed to the credit of Congress that, even as it drew what it well knew to be its last breaths, it persisted in striving to better its executive arrangements.

And then, amongst all the other motives that prevailed with Congress to continue to move and have its being, there was one which, in the minds of a good many statesmen, and notably that of the secretary, Charles Thomson, was especially potent. It was that Congress should not let the flag fall until victory should be complete. It happened that after October 10, 1788, it was never again possible to assemble a quorum of Congress; nevertheless Secretary Thomson kept the Journal open, and if a single delegate thrust his face inside the secretarial office, he was duly recorded as having attended. Thus was the life-thread of the Old Congress spun along until the second of March, 1789. There remained yet one day before the birth of the new government was at hand, but to the mind of the great-spirited secretary the soul of Union passed over the narrow chasm.

Carnegie Institution of Washington. EDMUND C. BURNETT.

Aaron Burr: A Biography. By NATHAN SCHACHNER. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1937. Pp. xii, 563. $3.50.)

MR. Schachner's biography of Aaron Burr is a praiseworthy addition to the literature of American history. An amazing mass of new evidence has been marshaled. The result is that old conclusions have been buttressed. In a word, the story of Burr's life is nearing completion.

How slowly does truth emerge into the light! How discouraging it is to conscientious historians to find that old lies continue to be paraded long after overwhelming evidence has been adduced to bury them under. It has

been difficult for the facts about Burr to become known because of the malevolence of critics who everywhere have striven to hide the story beneath a heap of partisanship and vituperation. The followers of a certain school of history, boasting Henry Adams as the Knight in Shining Armor, will not yield, although hopelessly beaten. To them, Burr is still the low politician scheming to rob Jefferson of the presidency, still the murderer of Hamilton, still the sinister conspirator, with treason all about him, if not in his heart.

What disturbs one most is that the very critics who continue to besmirch the character of Burr employ only the tattered tales of the past—long since discredited. Why don't some of these wise critics, professed historians, do something on their own accounts? Why not unearth evidence in support of their positions? It is time they ceased calling such serious studies as Schachner's "apologies". It is not an apology. It is a sober study and impregnably fortified by unquestioned data. When an embryonic historian declares that Schachner resorts to "billingsgate" in his denunciation of Jefferson's persecution of Burr at the trial at Richmond, one's patience is exhausted. The records show conclusively that Jefferson *did* persecute Burr at Richmond with a vindictiveness unparalleled in American political annals. Did not the President write to Prosecutor Hay telling him to free the whole pack of conspirators so long as Burr was not permitted to escape? Did he not bribe Eaton by paying an old claim of his? Did he not offer pardons wholesale in an effort to secure testimony which would lead to Burr's conviction?

The three most controverted points in Burr's life are: (1) the conflict with Jefferson over the presidential election of 1800; (2) the duel with Hamilton; (3) the conspiracy. Mr. Schachner has unearthed additional materials which tend to confirm the thesis that, had Burr been so minded, the presidency might have been had for the taking. He also furnishes additional evidence to show that the meeting with Hamilton at Weehawken was the result of a long series of insults and libelous attacks on the part of Hamilton and that that meeting, called a "duel", was strictly in accord with the accepted canons of the day. But to the old school it is still styled a murder! (If murder was in anybody's mind, it was in Hamilton's, for did he not fire before the signal?) As for the conspiracy, a splendid analysis of the case is given by Schachner. He follows it through all its phases to its culmination at the trial in Richmond. To all intents and purposes the chapter is closed. It is scarcely to be believed that any new evidence can change the verdict.

Mr. Schachner's work cannot fail to be accepted, in time, as a fundamental chronicle of early nineteenth century American history. Any illumination of that most tangled period should be welcomed.

Washington, D. C. W. F. McCaleb.

A History of Chicago. By Bessie Louise Pierce, The University of Chicago. Volume I, *The Beginning of a City, 1673-1848.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1937. Pp. xvii, 455, xxxi. $5.00.)

Miss Pierce's volume is the first of a series on the history of Chicago. It was undertaken as a part of the larger program of the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago, which has sponsored a considerable number of social, economic, and political studies of Chicago. The committee assigned to Miss Pierce a series of volumes dealing with the historical background of the present city, to be prepared with the help of various research assistants and students working under her direction.

As Miss Pierce's work was intended to serve a special purpose, she elected to begin her detailed study at the point where M. M. Quaife's *Chicago and the Old Northwest* ends, in 1833. Therefore forty-two pages, or approximately one tenth of her space, suffice for the narrative down to that date. Then follow carefully detailed chapters. One deals with the speculative era when Chicago's great future as the terminus of the Illinois and Michigan Canal impressed the land jobber. The various routes by which population flowed into Chicago down to the days of the railways is the subject of another. Chapters follow on trade and commerce, banking, social life, churches and religion, schools, local government, and state and national politics. The documentation is most careful and thorough. The footnotes run on an average to one third of the pages. A good deal of skill has been shown in relegating detail to them and in keeping the narrative sufficiently generalized to be interesting.

In general, Miss Pierce's conclusions follow the accepted course and are carefully confirmed by factual research. Possibly she made a mistake in binding herself too closely to the role of servant to the other social sciences, but that point is uncertain. The appendix includes a tabular account of the various governmental jurisdictions within which Illinois has lain since the coming of the French, population and electoral statistics, and the resolutions of the River and Harbor Convention of 1847. An elaborate and useful bibliography concludes the study. In passing, lest false hopes be aroused in students of the French period, it might be noted that the manuscript from the Chicago Historical Society listed on page 434 of the bibliography is actually a surrender by Alphonse de Tonti to Mme. de la Forest of the sums accorded by the king to the estate of the late Henri de Tonti for expenditures on the forts of Peoria, Starved Rock, and Chicago. To one statement in the foreword, not written by Miss Pierce, the present reviewer must take exception: "When Chicago was a cluster of cabins emerging from sand and swamp around a frontier fort, New York was a city of 400,000." Miss Pierce's narrative, pages 203 and 214, and the view opposite page 404, give a different picture of Chicago. The point may seem a small one; but it is

just such inaccurate generalizations that carefully documented studies like Miss Pierce's are supposed to demolish.

University of Illinois. THEODORE CALVIN PEASE.

The Winnebago-Horicon Basin: A Type Study in Western History. By JOSEPH SCHAFER. [Wisconsin Domesday Book.] (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1937. Pp. x, 349. $2.50.)

HERE we have social history in its organic form. The author's phrase is "community creation and its historical development". In this volume the very rocks and soil, ground water, and air currents are called upon to show their relationship to the sustenance of the people of Winnebago, Calumet, Fond du Lac, and Dodge counties. The Indian race, through its Stockbridge (Mohican) representatives, halfheartedly attempts to adopt another way of life on a reservation—and fails. Implacable speculators precede, stimulate, and seek to sustain the movement of settlers, especially the location of road, canal, railroad, and city sites.

The frontier advances not with the fanfare of heroic motives and strugglings but in terms of population origins, segregation, and economic motives, in terms of choice of wood or grass land as well as other topographical features, ability to pay, proximity to roads, rivers, and boat landings. Latecoming Germans take leftover lands and then gradually buy out Irishmen and Americans. Population growth brings occupational and professional division of labor with a demonstration of the powerful trend "against the introduction of special groups for the filling of special occupational requirements". History progresses beyond the frontier stage (thank heaven) into the days of frame, brick, and stone buildings, the substitution of horses for oxen, and the rise of wheat as a staple market crop. Then comes the "new agriculture", *i. e.*, dairying, as a result of inexorable evolution. The cities, Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, and Neenah-Menasha, emerge to the tune of speculative foresight, transportation facilities, water power, lumber trade, wood manufacture, saw, flour, and paper mills, location of normal schools, labor supply, and tax rates.

Oddly enough the author mistakes the nature of his own contribution, which he claims to be an experimental combination of "monographic thoroughness with something of the wide human appeal which the best of general histories possess". As for the latter quality, it takes more than an amusing anecdote now and then to do for Wisconsin what Macaulay did for England. As for thoroughness, the author has done basic work, but it can hardly be called thorough description of community creation and development. Where are the folkways—the substance of things partially outlined? Soils, horses, breeds of stock, drought resistance are basic, but what of plow types and materials, tool use and handicraft, crop and cultivation methods, meat and vegetable preservation, tanning, fence making,

draining, to mention only a few aspects of farming? What of practices of storage, marketing, processing, currency, credit and banking? What of religious creeds, ritual, and government? What of origins and adaptations of the substance and procedure of law? What of home life, schooling, courtship, marriage, relation of husband and wife? What of folk song and story, festivals?

It is asking much that such stuff be integrated into the whole "gestalt" or configuration. However, that is what "monographic thoroughness" means when applied to the history of "community creation and its development".

Hartwick College. RANDOLPH C. DOWNES.

The Second Admiral: A Life of David Dixon Porter, 1813-1891. By RICHARD S. WEST, JR. (New York: Coward-McCann. 1937. Pp. xvi, 376. $5.00.)

IN undertaking to write a biography of Admiral Porter, Professor West faced a formidable task. For Porter was a figure about whom a storm of controversy had raged for a generation, and of whom much that was true and much that was false had been written, so that his prospective biographer must separate the chaff from the grain. Porter, a man impatient of moribund naval tradition, of quick temper and all too ready speech, made many bitter enemies and a few extremely loyal friends. The foremost of his enemies was that powerful politician, General Benjamin F. Butler, who for a quarter century after the Civil War made unceasing efforts to deflate his prestige and lower him in the estimation of his fellow countrymen.

Professor West has shown clearly, however, that Porter was an officer with a body of real achievement to his credit. Coming from a family of distinguished naval and political traditions, with a father who had won for himself undying fame in the War of 1812, Porter himself entered the navy when he was but sixteen years old. He was promoted for gallantry in the Mexican War, made a distinguished record for himself in the mail steamer service, and in the early days of the Civil War saved Fort Pickens off Pensacola harbor from the fate of Fort Sumter. It was Porter who induced the Navy Department to undertake the campaign that ended triumphantly in the capture of New Orleans in 1862, a campaign in which he co-operated with his foster brother, David G. Farragut, and for which Farragut received the major part of the glory. It was his co-operation with Grant that made the capture of Vicksburg possible in the following year. But his greatest achievement was the capture of Fort Fisher, a victory that sealed the last Confederate port to blockade runners.

Professor West has spared no pains in making his book a model of accuracy and fair judgment. A vast number of manuscript reports and letters in the Navy Department, the Library of Congress, and private collections have been studied with meticulous care, as well as contemporary

diaries, newspapers, and pubished narratives of the war. The entire volume is documented and indexed in a manner to bring joy to any scholar's heart. Professor West shows himself to be a master of war narrative, an art in which many historians fail dismally. No future historian who attempts to write the history of the naval side of the Civil War can afford to neglect this fascinating biography of a remarkable American.

United States Naval Academy. LOUIS H. BOLANDER.

The Railway Interrelations of the United States and Canada. By WILLIAM J. WILGUS, Consulting Engineer. [The Relations of Canada and the United States: The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xvi, 304. $3.00.)

IT is perhaps no more remarkable that the story of the railway connections between Canada and the United States has never been told than that so many other chapters of American railway history remain unwritten. Colonel Wilgus, who has been responsible in his engineering career for building several of the physical structures across our northern boundary, tells the sober, unromantic tale of the traffic lines and traffic movements which link the peoples of the United States and Canada in day-to-day interaction. Fifty-five railway and car-ferry crossings at fifty different border gateways are visible witnesses to our economic interdependence. More than 7000 miles of railway operated by the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National in the United States and 1556 miles of American systems reaching into Canada bespeak the energy with which past transportation enterprise has transcended national boundaries.

The rise of these relationships Colonel Wilgus has studied against the background of an analysis of the physiographic features of the frontier and a much too brief sketch of the general railway history of the two countries. His procedure through nearly half of his book is to narrate the historical development of each gateway. We learn the circumstances under which each was first established, the transport systems with which it has been successively associated, and the character and direction of the flow of traffic recently passing through it. A separate chapter describes some of the most important structures—bridges and tunnels—which have been established at the gateways. Finally there is an analysis of contemporary rate structure and income yield, affording partial support for an appendix in which Colonel Wilgus expresses the belief that government ownership is inescapable in both countries.

The author has succeeded so admirably in his central objective that the historian's chief regret must be that he has construed his task so narrowly, that he has not asked more questions of his material. The historical description of each gateway is compressed, crowded, so that even a student fairly familiar with the names of railway companies finds difficulty in following

the story. Colonel Wilgus is sparing in reference to factors involved in railway expansion. We hear little of warfare and strategic construction policies of great systems. References to antagonistic public policies of Canada and the United States, such as those involved in transcontinental construction, are scant. What does it mean to Ontario to be the highway of an important flow of traffic, American in origin and destination? What was the significance of the fact that for so many years the old Grand Trunk was chiefly a carrier of American through export traffic, in no small part on American soil? What does it matter that "a third of the freight traffic of the Canadian railways crosses the border"? What entanglements of ownership rights and functions of private control have been involved in the cross-border transport systems? How have labor conditions and labor policies on both sides of the border been affected? How has gateway use been influenced by industrial development, by marketing changes, by fluctuations in traffic composition?

These are but a few of the many pertinent questions which Colonel Wilgus's work leaves relatively untouched. He has surveyed the line along which further excavation and construction may be rewarding. The history of American-Canadian railway relationships is at least a problem in traffic administration, and in this field, so treacherous for the railway layman, Colonel Wilgus walks with certain tread.

Wellesley College. LELAND HAMILTON JENKS.

The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854: Its History, its Relation to British Colonial and Foreign Policy and to the Development of Canadian Fiscal Autonomy. By DONALD C. MASTERS. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1937. Pp. xxiv, 267. $3.50.)

IN this monograph Dr. Masters endeavors to interpret in an objective manner a wealth of published and unpublished data. From the viewpoint of length it is an impressive study, and the numerous footnotes in each chapter indicate a wide variety of manuscript sources. To a critical reader, however, it is quickly apparent that Dr. Masters is traversing familiar ground: he is in no sense a pioneer, and he establishes no new frontiers of learning with reference to Canadian-American commercial relations.

Students of Canadian history will doubtless regret that Dr. Masters did not see fit to append to his monograph a bibliography covering the source and secondary materials he consulted in the preparation of his study. As one glances through his footnote references a conviction is created that either he neglected to use previous studies on Canadian-American commercial relations or else he preferred not to mention predecessors in the same field. Surely J. L. Morison's *The Eighth Earl of Elgin* is worthy of bare mention, and any treatment of the sweeping changes in British fiscal policy as affecting Canada is hardly complete without some mention of the contributions of scholars like D. L. Burn, J. H. Clapham, and R. L. Schuyler.

It is with particular reference to the economic background of the

Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 that the study of Dr. Masters is so disappointing. The movement in Canada in favor of reciprocity was the result of certain economic factors which have been given scant consideration in a monograph that should have emphasized them. The extensive literature on economic conditions in Canada from 1846 to 1854 seems unfamiliar to Dr. Masters, who could have consulted with profit the able survey of that period in the recent volume by Professor G. N. Tucker, *The Canadian Commercial Revolution, 1845-1851*.

It is somewhat surprising that Dr. Masters does not mention the deep interest shown by Canadian businessmen in the construction of a chain of Canadian canals which would make the St. Lawrence River the preferred waterway for the shipment of vast quantities of produce from both sides of the international boundary. This ambitious project saddled a large debt upon the Province of Canada, and its liquidation was contingent upon the tolls levied upon the shipping that passed through these canals. The repeal of the corn laws in 1846 and the consequent breakdown of the system of colonial preferences evoked a vehement protest from the Canadian businessmen, who felt that such action would decrease traffic along the canals and thereby threaten the economic structure of the province. It so happened that this change in British fiscal policy came at the beginning of a short cycle of business depression throughout the world, and conditions in Canada from 1846 to 1850 were at times so desperate that commercial reciprocity with the United States seemed the only means of salvation.

In his treatment of the operation of the Reciprocity Treaty Dr. Masters fails to appreciate the strength of the annexationist spirit in the United States, and he seems unaware of the real role played by Seward in 1861 and in 1864. No attention is given to the effect of the Smuggling Act of June 27, 1864, upon the trade between the United States and Canada, and in this regard a brief examination of the correspondence of Thomas Swinyard and C. J. Brydges in the Sir John Macdonald Papers (in Ottawa) would have been illuminating. One also wonders why Dr. Masters devotes so little attention to the struggle in 1865 in the United States between the businessmen and the expansionist politicians aided by important editors like Joseph Medill and Horace Greeley. The highly significant commercial convention which met in Detroit in July, 1865, is dismissed by Dr. Masters in some four lines, one of which is incorrect. This convention represented the last stand of American business interests in favor of commercial reciprocity with Canada, and its warm endorsement of negotiations looking toward a new treaty clearly reveals the attitude of a very vocal section of American public opinion. In this connection Dr. Masters could have found some valuable data in the James W. Taylor Papers in the library of the Minnesota State Historical Society.

Washington, D. C. CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL.

The American Civil War: An Interpretation. By CARL RUSSELL FISH, Late Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin. Edited by WILLIAM ERNEST SMITH, Department of History, Miami University. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1937. Pp. xi, 531. $3.50.)

WHEN Carl Russell Fish died in 1936 he was at work on a two-volume history of the Civil War and Reconstruction. It was his hope and expectation, according to Dr. Smith, that this work would be "his best contribution to historical writing, for his interest as an historian lay primarily in the Civil War period" (p. vii). Professor Fish completed the first longhand draft of fourteen of the sixteen chapters which constitute this Civil War volume. The last two chapters were written from his notes and other materials by Dr. Smith, who also edited the first fourteen chapters. Both as writer and as editor Dr. Smith has executed a difficult task with consummate skill. His chapter on the "Constitutional Aspects of the Civil War" deserves to be cited for special commendation.

As for the main body of the book, that is, the fourteen chapters by Professor Fish, two characteristics are worthy of note. In the first place it is entirely free of sectional, class, or party bias. Perhaps the best explanation of this phenomenon is to be found in a brief foreword contributed by Mrs. Fish, who tells us that her husband's mother was a Georgian and his father a New Englander. "To him it [the Civil War] was not a 'lost cause' or a Northern victory. . . . He wished to understand it and make others understand it by approaching it from the detached point of view of an historian" (p. x). That the author succeeded in this purpose will be denied by none save those committed to some particular pattern of historical interpretation.

Which serves to call attention to the second characteristic. Professor Fish did not attempt to any great extent to obtain new factual material. But he did endeavor to interpret old material in a new way. That he gave to economic factors due weight is clear to the most casual reader. He did not, however, adopt a narrow Marxian line of interpretation. With the Simon-pure Marxist it is as useless to argue as with any other orthodox sectarian, and this is not the place for argument, but to one who has studied the Civil War and Reconstruction periods for some three decades it seems out of consonance with the known facts to maintain that the Civil War was solely, or even primarily, the result of a "counterrevolutionary" movement (in the Marxian sense) on the part of the large plantation and slave owners of the South. Dr. Fish in his interpretation analyzes personal, political, psychological, and moral, as well as economic, factors and finds little basis for the belief that these former bore a mere incidental relationship to the economic. They were important in themselves and did not inevitably stem from economic differences. To this reviewer, at least, his is the juster view, and so skillfully is it presented that the fair-minded reader

will agree that this posthumous volume deserves to rank as one of the best interpretative histories of the Civil War. The regret is that the author did not live to complete a similar work on Reconstruction.

B. B. KENDRICK.
The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina.

The Colorado Range Cattle Industry. By ORA BROOKS PEAKE, Associate Professor of History, Colorado State College of Education. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1937. Pp. 357. $6.00.)

The 101 Ranch. By ELLSWORTH COLLINGS in collaboration with ALMA MILLER ENGLAND, Daughter of the Founder of the 101 Ranch. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 249. $3.00.)

PROFESSOR Peake's volume discusses important institutional phases of the Colorado range cattle industry from its inception in the eighteen-sixties down to the present day. The cattle ranges to the north and south of Colorado have been thoroughly dealt with by others as more typical cattle country than the region from Raton Pass to the Cache la Poudre, but this important stock territory well deserves the author's careful study.

A thorough presentation of the activities of Colorado's many stock associations, a full list of regulatory laws and ordinances, descriptions of the various means of controlling range land by intimidation, illegal fencing, and monopoly of the water supply as well as by homesteading, purchase, and lease, and a good picture of transportation and marketing conditions—all these make this volume a useful work of reference for the study of the management of the state's range cattle industry. Unfortunately they are not blended together well enough to present a clear picture of the industry as a whole during the various stages of its development in Colorado.

The 101 Ranch is a memorial history of the famous Oklahoma ranch of that name and of its founder, Colonel George W. Miller, and his sons, the three Miller brothers. A successful cattle outfit in the seventies and eighties, whose more than one hundred thousand acres were acquired cheaply through purchase and lease from the friendly Poncas, the 101 Ranch was forced into planting wheat to survive the 1893 depression. Its growth into the huge, many-sided enterprise that flourished up to the present decade is a story of diversification from cattle to wheat, corn, hogs, poultry, cotton, vegetables, fruits, and oil; to industries, including a packing plant, dairy, harness shop, and refinery; to retail trade with a store, filling station, hotel, and cafe; and most spectacularly to the famous 101 Ranch Wild West Show. The deaths of two of the brothers, versatile Colonel Joe and businesslike George L. Miller, followed by the depression of 1929, doomed the ranch. It was slowly broken up and auctioned off until at last, in 1937, the beaten Colonel Zack, the third brother, was forced to leave the old White House.

The material for this volume has been gathered from personal interviews, newspaper files, and the 101 Ranch records. Figures of gross income from different types of ranch activity from 1925 to 1930 give a good idea of the scope of the enterprise but do not show the net financial position of each branch. A more critical, economic history with a thorough analysis of the complete ranch records would have been of greater value to students of western agricultural development.

Bethel, Connecticut. WALCOTT WATSON.

Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1919: Russia. [The Department of State.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1937. Pp. civ, 807. $1.75.)

THIS volume belongs to a valuable series and is a continuation of *Foreign Relations, 1918: Russia,* in three volumes (*Am. Hist. Rev.,* XXXIX, 549). It contains a wealth of material important not only to students of American foreign policy but also to those working in the field of recent Russian history.

The most interesting part of the volume is perhaps that concerned with the Siberian problem and the relations between the United States and the Omsk government, though some of the documents dealing with the activities of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace bid fair to rival this. Thus the secretary's notes of a conversation held in Mr. Pichon's room on Sunday, January 12, 1919, which record a statement of Mr. Lloyd George—"[I] had nothing to say against these people, Prince Lvoff, etc. We were told they represented every shade of opinion. As a matter of fact, they represented every opinion except the prevalent opinion in Russia"—throw as bright a beam on the mentality and the intuitive approach to political problems of that probably most ignorant and perhaps most brilliant of British prime ministers of the present century as any part of that statesman's memoirs.

The lack of consistency and the vacillation of the American attitude toward Russia is frankly illustrated by many a document in the volume. However, the sound policy of the American government to "give no support to the view that dismemberment of Russia should be encouraged" emerges clearly and strongly in Mr. Lansing's dispatch of December 4 (p. 130) in contrast to Mr. Lloyd George's policy to promote the ultimate division of Russia into a number of independent states and his fear that Europe would be menaced by a unified Russia (pp. 126, 129).

Some of the documents contained in the volume offer interesting examples of the relative value of certain state papers for the establishing of historic facts. Thus Mr. Polk's dispatch of January 24 states that the critical spirit in Congress was being encouraged by attacks on the personal conduct of Ambassador Francis by Mr. LaGuardia, "who apparently got his in-

formation from . . . . Lieutenant Commander Crosley" (p. 245). Walter S. Crosley was at the time a captain and not a lieutenant commander and did not at any time discuss Ambassador Francis with Mr. LaGuardia. To cite another instance: the January 4 dispatch of the chargé in Russia (p. 608) may in reality reflect General Ironside's efforts to maintain at all cost friendly relations with the representative of the American government and to delay the day of withdrawal of American troops from the Archangel front rather than his real opinion as to the cause of the failure of the offensive operation commented upon, as a naïve reader of the text of the dispatch might suppose.

The contents of dispatches of Consul General Harris, Ambassador Morris, and General Graves relating to the situation in Siberia raise the problem of the policy of the War Department in Siberia as distinguished from that of the Department of State. Apparently arms had the advantage over the toga in the propraetorship of General Graves at Vladivostok.

It may be regretted that no attempt was made to harmonize the spelling of Russian proper names and that the index is far from comprehensive. By the publication of this volume, however, the Department of State has added a substantial contribution to the stock of documentary evidence available in the English language to students of foreign intervention in Russia and has earned their gratitude by its candor.

Merion, Pennsylvania. D. Fedotoff White.

A History of Argentina. By Ricardo Levene, Professor of Argentine History in the National University of La Plata. Translated and edited by William Spence Robertson, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. [The Inter-American Historical Series, edited by James A. Robertson.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 565. $4.00.)

Students of Spanish American history will welcome this first volume of the Inter-American Historical Series. Projected over a decade ago by a group of scholars under the leadership of Dr. Charles W. Hackett, the series was designed to provide for readers in the United States a translation of the most adequate one-volume history of each republic of Latin America in use in its colleges and universities. The work of translation and editing was apportioned among the best-known historians of Latin America in this country, and students have since eagerly awaited the fruition of this enterprise.

Dr. Levene's *Lecciones de historia argentina* provides a distinguished introduction for the series. It is one of the most scholarly and readable of the general histories produced for any Latin-American nation and has gone through sixteen editions, the latest in 1937. Apart from the introductory chapter, the translation follows exactly the text of the original, except for occasional abbreviations or additions in the footnotes. The colonial narrative

and that of the national era each cover approximately two hundred pages, and the intervening struggle for independence about a hundred and thirty-five pages. This division reflects pretty accurately the amount of attention which Argentine scholars have so far paid to the three periods of the nation's history. Extensive research has confined itself mostly to the years before the Rosas dictatorship. The narrative is brought down, although in very attenuated form, to the death of ex-President Hipólito Irigoyen in July, 1933. Forty pages suffice for the last fifty-three years of the history of the republic. If Levene's text had been written for a North American audience, organization and emphasis would doubtless have been somewhat different. More attention would have been vouchsafed to the social and economic development of the nation, and the narrative would have been less a mere reflection of what appears in the older, and today somewhat antiquated, Argentine historians. The volume, however, provides the most adequate treatment in English of the history of the Argentine people.

The translation is competently done. If the style is not sprightly, it is because the translator attempts to follow conscientiously, in idiomatic English, the sentence structure of the original. Exact rendition as a rule conduces more to accuracy than to literary animation. Dr. Robertson has taken care to make the volume conform to practice in this country by appending six pages of annotated bibliography and a very complete index. The Spanish titles in the bibliography are unfortunately not always representative of the best in recent Argentine historiography.

The book is attractive in format, as one is accustomed to expect from the University of North Carolina Press. Some improvement might conceivably have been possible in the illustrations, many of which are photographs taken over twenty years ago and giving an extremely inadequate impression of the city and harbor of Buenos Aires today. But this is a trifling matter. The volume is a becoming tribute by the historical fraternity in the United States, as represented in the Inter-American Series, not only to Dr. Levene himself but to the whole contemporary Argentine school, which, centered in the Junta de historia y numismática and the Instituto de investigaciones históricas, has constituted the most distinguished and productive group of historical workers in Latin America. It may be recommended heartily to college students and to others who desire to obtain a comprehensive view of the political and social evolution of the foremost of the Spanish American republics.

Harvard University. CLARENCE HENRY HARING.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

The World in Maps: A Study in Map Evolution. By W. W. Jervis. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 208, maps 24, $3.00.) The author has crowded the pages of this volume on a very timely subject with much interesting material. It is entertaining and has an easy style. No one can read it without deriving an appreciation of the complexity of map making and the long, slow process of its development. The first half dozen chapters of the work are devoted to scale, orientation, projection, the representation of culture, relief, and lettering. Other chapters are concerned with some great map makers, national map departments, and modern mapping. A select list of ancient, medieval, and modern maps, a generous bibliography, and twenty-four pages of maps done in brown and blue are appended, but an index is wanting. The subtitle suggests that the work is written in a time sequence. This, however, is not the case, and each chapter has a disconcerting way of jumping around in the centuries. One is left to conclude that the book is a hasty compilation, and it is evident that the author has himself not had the advantage of examining many of the maps he evaluates. The volume abounds in typographical errors, and there are numerous misstatements and some contradictions. Claudius Ptolemy, who flourished about 150 A.D., is said to have been a "Greek, born in Egypt, at the beginning of the Middle Ages, while the Roman Empire was still decaying" (p. 84); the engraver John Gibson is confused with Thomas Jefferys, who became geographer to the prince of Wales in 1732 (p. 95); the first edition of Ortelius's *Theatrum orbis terrarum,* which is said to have contained "no less than 540 maps and views of cities designed by Braun and Hogenberg" (p. 158), actually contained 53 maps. Clara Egli.

A Guide to the Teaching of History in Schools. By A. C. F. Beales. (London, University Press, 1937, pp. 128, 3s.) This little but comprehensive book, designed for teachers of history in the schools of Great Britain and the British Dominions, is a judiciously annotated guide to judiciously selected literature of every kind (except class textbooks) likely to be helpful to teachers. The arrangement is topical, with specific references representing careful analysis of the material and including much of pertinence to teachers of history anywhere. There is generous recognition of books and articles published in the United States.
Henry Johnson.

Political Handbook of the World: Parliaments, Parties, and Press as of January 1, 1938. Edited by Walter H. Mallory. (New York, Harper, for Council on Foreign Relations, 1938, pp. 210, $2.50.)

List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in Progress at American Universities, December, 1937. Compiled and edited by Margaret Willgoose Harrison. (Washington, Division of Historical Research, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1938, pp. 70.)

The African Background outlined or Handbook for the Study of the Negro. By Carter G. Woodson. [The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.] (Washington, Associated Publishers, 1936, pp. viii, 478, $3.25.) One

half of this volume is devoted to the history of the Negro in Africa. The other half deals mainly with aspects of Negro culture in the United States. After a brief discussion of each larger unit of the subject, an outline is given. There are attached to these outlines very full bibliographies and discussions of the sources.

Hommes d'état. Published under the direction of A. B. DUFF and F. GALY, with a Postface by Lucien Febvre. (Bruges, Desclée, De Brouwer, 1936; 1937; 1936, pp. 623; 598; 723, 60 fr. each, 150 fr. for the 3 bound volumes.) These essays (arranged chronologically, six to a volume) are of very high standard. The object was not to produce lives but studies "on the political thought, technique and achievements of these statemen". Such an aim would seem to invite use of the comparative method; some inductions, some useful and striking generalizations, might be expected. In fact, however, these studies are merely juxtaposed, not integrated, and the postface is so corrosively agnostic about both history and biography that apparently the conclusion to be drawn is that one learns from history that nothing can be learned from history. The individual studies, however, are noteworthy; each utilizes the published sources and most of the best secondary works and includes an adequate, and in some cases a long and critical, bibliography. O. Tafrali's somewhat uncritical "Nicéphore II Phocas" ignores Gibbon, whose hostile judgment of Nicephorus II demands consideration. Robert Anchel oversimplifies the subtle thought of "Michel de l'Hôpital" by representing him as completely "absolutist". Six of the studies, with all their competence, do not replace or add materially to works readily procurable in English; these are Jean-Remy Palanque's "Constantin", Maurice Rey's "Théodoric le Grand", A. B. Duff's "Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen", François Olivier-Martin's "Saint Louis", André Robert's "Metternich", and André and Daniel Tolédano's "Disraeli". Italian history rather than personal political technique is studied in Georges Bourgin's excellent "Cavour". Victor Chapot's "Philippe II de Macédoine" and Augustin Renaudet's "Laurent le Magnifique" are valuable essays on subjects who have not received adequate study. Students of "Sylla", "Louis XI", and "Thiers" will want to consult the studies by Léon Homo, Joseph Calmette, and Alphonse Dupront, respectively, both for the information they contain and for the authors' points of view. The essays on "Caius Gracchus", "Philippe II d'Espagne", "Catherine II de Russie", and "Danton", by André Oltramare, Rafael Altamira, Paul Milioukov, and B. Mirkine-Guetzévitch, respectively, seem to this reviewer to be indispensable contributions to their subjects.

ARTHUR M. WILSON.

Jevreji u Dubrovniku do polovine XVII stoljeća. By JORJO TADIĆ. (Sarajevo, La Benevolencia, 1937, pp. 521, Din. 30.) This is a history of the Jews in Dubrovnik or Ragusa from the fourteenth century, when, according to the existing documents, Jews were first recorded in the city, until the earthquake of 1667. The republic of Ragusa maintained flourishing commercial relations with all countries of the Mediterranean and the Balkan peninsula. After 1492 a great number of Spanish Jews settled in Ragusa, and their story, which the author tells in great detail and with many interesting side lights on their cultural life, shows vicissitudes similar to those in most other countries of that time. The author reproduces a number of documents and gives a detailed résumé of them in French.

HANS KOHN.

Swords or Plowshares? By EARL CRANSTON. (New York, Abingdon Press, 1937, pp. 256, $2.00.) *Peace or War? A Conference at the University of Minnesota, April 7-9, 1937.* Edited by HAROLD S. QUIGLEY. [The Day and Hour Series.] (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1937, pp. 205, 50 cents.) Professor Cranston evaluates the losses and gains from the major wars in which the United States has participated. The thesis is developed that each of our wars, with the possible exception of the Revolution, could have been avoided without the sacrifice of any important values; and as a corollary to this the argument is advanced that when peace rather than war was chosen no important national losses were sustained. The author cites interesting material in support of his views but does not give adequate recognition to the complexity of the problems involved and the importance of factors which are really imponderable. Moreover, in his reliance on rationality and free choice as factors in the historical process he underestimates the strength of economic interests and the power of emotion. Nevertheless his discussion, which is more detailed than similar ones by William I. Hull and C. H. Hamlin, is suggestive and sometimes searching. In his prescription for the maintenance of peace Professor Cranston advocates the possibility and desirability of combining personal resistance to war with a national policy of collective security. *Peace or War?* is made up of eleven interpretative addresses on various contemporary aspects of world tensions and proposed measures for alleviating them. They were written by specialists representing virtually all positions except those associated with socialism and communism. Several of these experts subscribe to the idea that war is not inevitable and that some measure of collective security is the most probable preventive. Historians will find especially interesting Professor Harold C. Deutsch's "1914 and 1937: Parallel or Contrast?" and Professor Peter Odegard's reflections on the inadequacy of the symbols hitherto employed by peace movements.

MERLE CURTI.

The United States Government and Latin American Independence, 1810-1830. By JAMES JOHNSTON AUCHMUTY. (London, P. S. King, 1937, pp. vii, 275, 12s.) Dr. Auchmuty traces the course of the revolt against Spain in each great area and describes the relations between each Latin American government and the United States between 1810 and 1830. The book is based almost entirely upon the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning Latin American Independence,* edited by Dr. W. R. Manning. This is true even of those parts which discuss the diplomatic action of the British government. Excessive reliance upon this one source is unfortunate, for the reader sees events chiefly through the eyes of the incompetent and often misinformed diplomats who represented the United States in Latin America during this period and consequently receives an incomplete and often incorrect picture. The author himself has clearly not made the careful study of the historical background which is necessary for the most profitable use of the documents, and his general account of the revolution contains many errors of fact. The most interesting feature of the book is its portrayal of the character and the results of our diplomacy in Latin America during the revolutionary period. The representatives of the United States were too often not only inexperienced but temperamentally unfit for their mission. Some of them made themselves offensive by tactlessness, others by injudicious partisanship in local affairs, with the result that feeling toward the United States in Latin America was from the outset far less friendly than it might have been.

DANA G. MUNRO.

Anglo-Russian Relations concerning Afghanistan, 1837-1907. By WILLIAM HABBERTON. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1937, pp. 102, $1.50.) The study of a series of crises revolving about one international problem is an interesting conception. But when the author limits his topic to the diplomacy relative to the immediate problem of Afghanistan and not only fails to give an adequate description of the events which occurred there but also divorces this diplomacy from the larger policies of the countries involved, the study is little more than an almost meaningless recital of quotations. Aside from the limitations which the author sets for himself, he fails to grasp two very important and fundamental considerations relative to Afghan affairs before 1884. The first of these is extremely important in dealing with any incident occurring in remote parts of the world. Slowness of communication resulted in an almost complete independence of officials from their superiors, whose actions were often governed less by policy than by accomplished facts. The second consideration applies directly to the Afghan problem. In neither Russia nor England were the officials on the spot connected in any way with their respective foreign offices. In Russia, Central Asian affairs were under the control of the army, in England they were under the control of the India office. The respective foreign ministers were at the mercy of these departments for their information and largely influenced by them in forming any policies. The treatment of the period after 1884 is considerably better than the first part of the study. The problem is more localized, and improved communications allowed the officials on the spot to request instructions from home. The bibliography is excellent. It is unfortunate that self-imposed limits prevented the author from using more of the materials to which it calls attention.

THOMAS E. MARSTON.

Germany and the United States of America during the Era of Bismarck. By Count OTTO ZU STOLBERG-WERNIGERODE. Translated from the German. [Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation.] (Reading, Henry Janssen Foundation, 1937, pp. xviii, 358.) The original of this book was published in 1933 and reviewed in this journal in Volume XXXIX (p. 582).

L'armistice du 11 novembre, 1918: Récit d'un témoin. By Général H. MORDACQ. (Paris, Plon, 1937, pp. iv, 249, 16 fr. 50.) In his most recent volume dealing with the armistice General Mordacq endeavors to refute the legends that have sprung up about this episode. While emphasizing repeatedly what he considers the two cardinal mistakes made by the Allies, the signature on French soil and the failure to insist on unconditional surrender, his book is in part a defense of those responsible for them. The terms submitted to the Germans he describes as having been prepared with utmost care. Most diplomats and parliamentarians at Paris were inclined to think them too hard and were surprised and delighted when the Germans immediately accepted them in principle. Only Pershing and Bliss tried to persuade Clemenceau to insist on complete surrender, but the prime minister felt bound by the advice of the Allied generalissimo. Foch was thus the only person who could have prevented the armistice, though even he might have been overridden. The war-weary populations were in no mood to endorse a prolongation of the war, and the prevailing anxiety in the French capital was whether the Germans would really sign. The evidence with which the author supports his views is not always well selected. In reply to the charge that the Allies failed to inform themselves properly of developments in Germany, he cites the ignorance of events of the Princess Blücher, whom he him-

self describes as cringing behind the shades of her Berlin mansion. Can one also be so sure that there would have remained no room for a "Dolchstoss" legend if the Allies had marched to Berlin? The repeated references to an unchangeable German mentality of one sort or another in the end become wearisome.

HAROLD C. DEUTSCH.

Spanish White Book: The Italian Invasion of Spain, Official Documents & Papers seized from Italian Units in Action at Guadalajara. (Washington, Spanish Embassy; New York, Spanish Information Bureau, 1937, pp. 319, $2.00.) This volume, containing 101 facsimiles of Italian documents with translations, together with translations of the official Spanish letters of transmittal, constituted the proof submitted to the League of Nations in 1937 by the Valencia government of Spain of the presence in Spain on the Franco side of considerable units of the regular Italian army. Since this material was presented, however, open admission by the Italian government of the fact that at least forty thousand Italian "volunteers" were fighting in Spain robs the publication of its news and propaganda value. Nevertheless, the documents throw considerable light on the character and nature of the Italian intervention in Spain and, if examination of the originals can establish their genuineness—we know from World War propaganda how easily such documents can be fabricated—clearly demonstrate the participation of divisions of Italian regulars and supporting equipment in the defeat at Guadalajara. They corroborate the eyewitness evidence of the novelist Ernest Hemingway but omit, as one might expect, his account of Russian tanks, airplanes, and technicians on the other side as responsible for a government victory. The documents are disappointing on the vital question of Italy's ultimate intentions in Spain. ARTHUR S. AITON.

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ANCIENT HISTORY

T. R. S. Broughton

Die ägyptischen Listen palästinensischer und syrischer Ortsnamen. Edited by D. Dr. ANTON JIRKU. [*Klio* Beiheft.] (Leipzig, Dieterich, 1937, pp. 62, 3 M.) A heterogeneous series of lists of names carved on stone in Egyptian hieroglyphs purports to give us the names of foreign peoples or places which various pharaohs claim to have conquered between the fifteenth and the seventh century B.C. The historical and topographical value of these lists is problematical. The book under review, the first systematic collection of those which deal with Asia, is intended primarily for non-Egyptologists and therefore gives the lists

in transliteration only, not in hieroglyphic. Phonetic and topographical problems are discussed in elaborate footnotes, which are made accessible by suitable indexes. Unfortunately, transliterations and footnotes alike are of very uneven value. The attempt to publish hieroglyphic texts without using any hieroglyphic signs is a desperate one in any case. Professor Jirku is an experienced and respected investigator in Palestinian antiquities, but he has attempted this task without adequate knowledge of hieroglyphic or of modern Egyptological literature. Some of his footnotes contain original and interesting observations, but on most points the reader can find as much or more information in publications which are already generally known. Historians wishing to study these Egyptian texts will find more complete and more accurate transliterations of them, together with the hieroglyphic originals, in J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists relating to Western Asia,* which appeared only a few months after Jirku's book. Simons gives no topographical commentary on the texts, but his index of names provides indirectly a safer guide to the modern topographical literature than does Jirku.

WILLIAM F. EDGERTON.

Documents on Athenian Tribute. By BENJAMIN DEAN MERITT. [American School of Classical Studies at Athens.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937, pp. vi, 135, $2.50.) The present volume is another in the long series of monographs and articles by Meritt on the Athenian tribute lists and decrees and has been prepared with the same skill and care as its predecessors. It has become unnecessary to comment on the extremely valuable service which the author has rendered to ancient historians by these publications.

Plutarch's Life of Aratus, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendix. By W. H. PORTER. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1937, pp. cv, 96, $2.00.) It is difficult to understand the aim of this book. The Greek text (without translation) and the elaborate philological and historical notes suggest the traditional school edition. The 105-page introduction, however, would be useless to students. It consists of a series of short essays on various problems connected with the career of Aratus of Sicyon, the dominant figure in Greek city politics in the second half of the third century B.C. The general history of Hellenistic Greece is taken for granted, and the reader is plunged directly into the maze of warfare, dynastic struggle, and revolutions. Only a handful of experts would find this discussion intelligible, and for them Porter has little to add to the work of Beloch, Tarn, and Ferguson, or to the recent studies on Aratus by Walbank and Theunissen. The short sketch of the social struggles in Sparta indicates that he is not unaware of the underlying forces behind the Achaean League and its perpetual conflicts, but he never comes to grips with the problem or with the character and meaning of Plutarch's Aratus, who is the subject of the book, after all.

M. I. FINKELSTEIN.

Histoire ancienne. Part III, *Histoire romaine.* Volume IV, Part I, *L'Empire romain de l'avènement des Sévères au Concile de Nicée.* By MAURICE BESNIER. [Histoire générale, publiée sous la direction de Gustave Glotz.] (Paris, Les presses universitaires de France, 1937, pp. 409, 50 fr.) Before publication, Professor Besnier's text was revised by Professor A. Piganiol, who also added a supplementary bibliography covering, in the main, publications of the years 1932-36. The author has followed the conventional plan of treating each reign in turn, with general chapters on the Roman Empire in the time of the Severi and the Roman world in A.D. 268. From the point of view of the reader who is

interested in obtaining an understanding of the broad lines of development in administration, military organization, economic conditions, etc., during this critical era in the life of the Roman state, a rapid survey of the political history from 192 to 284, followed by special treatments of these problems for the whole of this period, might have been preferable. The same method could have been followed for the period from 284 to 325. It is not very clear why the Council of Nicaea was selected as the terminal point of the volume, since it can hardly be said to mark the close of any distinct period in the history of the empire. These considerations apart, the work is one of sound scholarship; it displays an intimate acquaintance with, and a critical evaluation of, the sources, especially the much debated *Historia Augusta*. The treatment of the relations of Christianity with the Roman government is exceptionally detailed. In his discussion of the Constitutio Antoniniana of A.D. 212 Besnier did not have the advantage of A. Wilhelm's reconstruction of the text of P. Giessen 40 (*Am. Jour. Arch.*, 1934, p. 180), and consequently his views on the problem of the *dediticii* must be revised. These apparently were not excluded from the grant of citizenship (*cf.* A. H. M. Jones, "Another Interpretation of the 'Constitutio Antoniniana'", *Jour. Rom. Stud.*, 1936, pp. 223-35). The four maps, unfortunately, are quite inadequate for so detailed a study of such an important epoch. There is a useful index of proper names and official terms.

A. E. R. Boak.

Altgermanien im Erdkundebuch des Claudius Ptolemaeus. By Th. Steche. (Leipzig, Curt Kabitzsch, 1937, pp. iv, 192, 9.60 M.) This little book continues the high standard of Ptolemaic researches of German and Czech scholars begun by Zeuss in 1837 and augmented by the labors of Gnirs, Cuntz, Simek, Schnabel, Kubitsch, and others. It is a reinterpretation of Ptolemy's statements about the rivers, mountains, tribes, and towns of ancient Germany. The most interesting preliminary problem in Part I is that of Ptolemy's longitudes and latitudes of northwest Europe, a problem already largely solved by Cuntz, who showed why the longitudes are uniformly wrong. Most of Part II deals with the sixty-nine German tribes of Ptolemy's text in contrast to the forty found in Tacitus's *Germania*—only twenty-two being common to both; an explanation is offered of the greater number given by Ptolemy. Part III discusses the ninety-five German towns mentioned by Ptolemy between the Rhine and the Vistula, a greater number than is given by any other ancient writer. The order in which these towns appear in the text is from west to east, but on the map (*Karte* 2, p. 129) it is indicated as being from north to south. Gnirs explained this by assuming that the north-south direction corresponded with Roman merchant routes, from which itineraries they were drawn on the map, but was later changed when Ptolemy wrote the explanatory text. Steche reconstructs eight such lost itineraries for Germany and discusses each town fully. In conclusion the various sources employed by Ptolemy for Germany are summarized, and it is shown that the *Germania* was not included. The author also rightly reverses earlier adverse criticisms of Ptolemy's work as a geographer. A more detailed review by the present writer of this contribution to our knowledge of early Germany has already appeared in *Classical Weekly* (March 28, 1938).

Walter Woodburn Hyde.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

Textes et documents d'histoire. Volume II, *Moyen Age*. By Joseph Calmette, with the collaboration of J.-J. Gruber. [Clio.] (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1937, pp. vii, 233, 35 fr.) These documents cover a wide variety of topics and are chosen to illustrate Volumes IV and V of the manuals in the Clio series. With such an abundance of material, the editors have shown wisdom in making their selections. They might have followed a more rigorous principle than that adopted for the inclusion or exclusion of Latin texts accompanying translations. Might not the beginner have as much interest, for instance, in the Latin of *Ineffabilis amor* (p. 73) as in that of the *Vita Anscharii* (p. 58)? Though there is a brief index, the omission of a table of contents in such a work is inexcusable. While many of the selections have withstood the test of checking, many others show careless proofreading. Errors of other sorts likewise appear. To render *spiculis vilibus* (p. 18) as *de miroirs sans valeur* (p. 19) gives a ludicrous touch to the scene Liutprand was describing. The excerpt (p. 47) from Guibert's *De vita sua* is badly mangled, containing possibly nine errors in the six lines taken from Bourgin's edition. In the *Dialogus* (p. 95) the last lines following *adeo ut si* do not agree with Stubbs, *Select Charters* (ed. of 1921), from which they are said to have been taken. The references to Ousâma on pages 102 and 207 do not seem to be precise. The careless omission of *Culture* from the title of Haskins's volume (p. 204) will confuse many.

Virgilio nel medio evo. [Studi medievali, nuova serie, V.] (Turin, Chiantore, 1932, pp. 444.) Though it bears the date 1932, this volume was not published until 1937. It contains thirty-four separate Virgilian studies, many of them written by American authors.

Incunabula scientifica et medica. By Arnold C. Klebs. [Osiris.] (Bruges, Saint Catherine Press, 1938, pp. 359.)

Borbe Hrvata za Jadran od VII. do kraja XI. stoljeća. By Bare Poparič. (Zagreb, Matice Hrvatske, 1937, pp. 111, Din. 12.) This relates the history of the struggle between Croatia and Venice for the control of the Adriatic Sea from the seventh to the end of the eleventh century, which ended with the complete victory of Venice. The book was written "in memory of the 1050th anniversary of the great naval victory" of the Croats. Hans Kohn.

Thraldom in Ancient Iceland. By Carl O. Williams. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. xiii, 168, $2.50.) In his study of slavery in Iceland Professor Williams has made extensive use of literary sources. Inasmuch as these belong in large measure to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the picture he

gives is chiefly from that period, more specifically from the twelfth century, since slavery in its older form was rapidly disappearing in the thirteenth. The author has utilized the sources with commendable thoroughness, and though he has not been able to present much that is strikingly novel, he has given our information a definiteness that it has not had before. Of particular interest are his chapters on the transition from thraldom to a qualified form of freedom which he calls "wage slavery", a term which, along with "proletariat" and "gangster", is almost too ultramodern in its connotations to be used accurately in a discussion of medieval problems. The volume has an adequate bibliography, but there is no index. LAURENCE M. LARSON.

Calendar of the Liberate Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III. Volume III, *A. D. 1245-1251.* (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1937, pp. vii, 520, $8.00.) This new calendar contains a mass of material, bewildering in its volume and variety, dealing with all phases of English life and history. The indexes, one of persons and places and another of subjects, are adequate and copious. A list of nearly four pages of rare words and words with rare meanings is useful. Henry III's piety as well as the comprehensive part played by the church in the lives of the people emerges in the abundant references to ecclesiastical matters, buildings, decorations, gifts, and officials. There is little on formal taxation (on movables, scutage, tallage), but there are many items on revenue, its transportation and disbursement, and on the salaried administrative system. Castles and manor houses were constantly repaired, rebuilt, and enlarged for beauty and comfort, as well as for defense. The king's aesthetic appreciation appears in his outlay for jewels, paintings, and decoration. Dress and food formed no small part of the medieval budget; the importance of game indicates the significance of forests in the economy of the time. Trade and industry show a well-established money economy; among important commodities was wax, used for sealing and for tapers, the latter often fifty or one hundred pounds in weight and even rising to a thousand pounds and costing £25. As revealed by these rolls, wine was by far the most important article of commerce. SYDNEY K. MITCHELL.

Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III, A. D. 1264-1268, preserved in the Public Record Office. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1937, pp. vii, 662, $9.25.) Few, indeed, are the aspects of the history of thirteenth century England that do not find illustration in the close rolls. Hence the student of the period will rejoice that the deputy keeper of the records has added another volume to the close rolls series of the reign of Henry III, begun in 1902. This series is especially valuable because the rolls are printed in their entirety. The history of an institution so often turns on the history of a word or a phrase that the translations and abridgments of a calendar merely tantalize the diligent investigator. The four rolls printed in this particular volume deal with the critical years marked by a phase of the Barons' Revolt and the rise and fall of Simon de Montfort. The historian of English criminal law will direct his attention to the entries relating to the machinery and procedure of administration used in the suppression of crime resulting from the anarchy of the civil war. To one interested in the history of the control of business in medieval England, significant entries include the appointment of a weigher of the exchequer in 1266 (p. 174), the correlation of the terms "communa" and "scot et lot" with the financial obligation of a townsman (p. 355), and the evidence of the amercement of the men of Northampton in 1268 "coram custodibus

mercati nostri pro transgressione mensuarum" (p. 477), another link in the obscure and involved story of the function of the office of the royal clerk of the market. The numerous entries relating to taxation and feudal obligations are noteworthy. The completeness of the index is to be commended, although its utility might have been increased by its division into three separate sections: biographical names, geographical names, and subjects.

ARMAND BUDINGTON DU BOIS.

The Incorporation of Boroughs. By MARTIN WEINBAUM. [Publications of the University of Manchester.] (Manchester, University Press, 1937, pp. x, 140, 6*s*.) This monograph is issued under the aegis of the Manchester school, and its author has had a long training in borough history. He has already written of the constitutional history of London in two German works and is publishing in England a volume of borough charters supplementary to the collections of Ballard and Professor Tait. Like his predecessors, he emphasizes the value of charters as the chief authority for the history of the constitutional development of towns and bases his general conclusions upon those particular charters that he has chosen for study. He follows his subject from the reign of Edward I through the fourteenth century to the great age of incorporation in the fifteenth century. The five matters characteristic of the fifteenth century corporate borough—perpetual succession, power of suing and being sued, of holding land, of having a common seal, of issuing bylaws—he traces through their gradual and varied development, showing the movement towards incorporation as nonrevolutionary and stressing the contemporary slowness in recognizing its potentialities as an instrument of progress. He comments on the later phases of borough history but needs more evidence for his statements than he supplies; and surely for the borough history of his own period there are still open to him many other sources of information, economic and legal, supplementary to the kind of material he has chosen. Borough customals printed and unprinted, customs of the countryside in which the boroughs lay, customs indicated in the charters themselves—all of these and many other matters must be included in any final definitive history of the incorporated English town. Meanwhile Dr. Weinbaum's conclusions are important and interesting and must be considered seriously by future students of town history.

N. NEILSON.

Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) preserved in the Public Record Office. Volume III. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1937, pp. 653, $9.90.) A calendar of miscellaneous inquisitions has the interest of variety. While most of the inquests summarized in this volume relate to the tenure and character of landed property, many go farther afield. The manorial extents furnish useful details. Lands sown with wheat and rye at Horndon, Essex, were worth 4*s*. an acre. Shortly before 1365 the Hospitallers depressed the status of the tenants on an erstwhile manor of the Templars from socage to bondage. Parcels of free land acquired by bond tenants of the abbot of Stratford Langethorn were henceforth held as bond land. There is information about the decay of castles and of certain priories and towns. At Scarborough castle, apart from repairs of £233, the wall toward the sea was so eaten away that rebuilding it would cost £1000. The abbot of Abbotsbury had wasted the property of the house to the extent of £1389. He maintained a costly household, kept expensive hounds, entertained many who did likewise, and gave fifty furred robes to clerics and lay folk, including women. Dunwich had been largely submerged, five hundred men and their boats had been destroyed by the

French, and the inhabitants in scot and lot had fallen from two thousand to forty-seven. Great Yarmouth, in the time of Edward II, had ninety great ships, not counting fishing boats. Now there were only twenty-four. Detailed accounts of abuses of purveyance in 1358-61 may have furnished argument for the famous statute of 1362 (pp. 123-25). Since the volume relates to the years after 1348, we find inquisitions which tell what became of the lands held by tenants on the day of their "death in the pestilence". Both because of the period covered and the scope of the information given, the volume is important. The editing is altogether adequate. H. L. GRAY.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

R. L. Schuyler

The Place-Names of Warwickshire. By J. E. B. GOVER, A. MAWER, and F. M. STENTON, in collaboration with F. T. S. HOUGHTON. [English Place-Name Society.] (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1936, pp. li, 409, $7.50.) American scholars who have penetrated into the deep country in England have often come upon the men and women who are working on field names. How interesting those names are and how revealing, even for one community, the student who lives in one place for a while will soon find out. As the volumes of this series appear, we are learning more and more about the course of early migrations into the different parts of the island. In the present volume we are told how Warwickshire was divided into two parts, a land of farms and hamlets in the north and a land of villages to the south of the Avon. Each one

of these volumes is an example of co-operation over a long period. Dugdale in the seventeenth century and school children in the twentieth have contributed to the results. But for the new detailed knowledge of the dialects of old English, of old French, of Scandinavian and Icelandic linguistic formations, many of the conclusions in this book and in other volumes of the series would be impossible of attainment. All the paraphernalia of language scholarship have been drawn upon, and much else. The editors have consulted assize rolls, rentals, leet court records, chancery proceedings, and so on. For any one volume there has been a combing of sources that is impressive. It is comforting to observe that each volume published furnishes help for the volumes that follow. When the series is completed, when the field names of all the counties of England have been gathered, scholars are going to know much more about the migrations of tribes and the movements of words, about village history and how villages have slowly moved across the fields. WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

The Sheldons: Being Some Account of the Sheldon Family of Worcestershire and Warwickshire. By E. A. B. BARNARD. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1936, pp. xi, 138, $2.75.) This study of the family which introduced and carried on tapestry weaving in England is of value for its details of the social history of the Tudor and Stuart periods.

The Stuarts. By Sir CHARLES PETRIE. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1937, pp. xii, 358, $3.50.) Sir Charles Petrie's attempt to "show how the subjects of the Stuarts were affected by, and how they regarded, the chief events of their day" has led to the production of a book that makes interesting enough reading. Naturally, considering the author's object, the narrative is rather discursive, but it must be confessed that the rambles are often very enjoyable. It is a pity, however, to go so far afield as the agricultural riots of 1830 or modern dictators. There is a fair number of questionable assertions. Thus, the blame for Buckingham's failure to relieve La Rochelle is placed on "politicians who wanted war but would not tax themselves to pay for it". If by politicians members of parliament are meant, the charge is unjust, for parliament was in no way responsible for the war against France. Again, it is interesting to know why the conversion of James, duke of York, to Catholicism is dated 1676 or, indeed, why Titus Oates is called a figurehead (p. 306). Incidentally, it seems odd when discussing the "terror of Rome" and "mistrust of French intentions" not to have mentioned the secret treaty of Dover, which explains and partly justifies both sentiments. More serious than this, the plan of the book leads to many omissions, and rather trivial incidents often receive as many pages as important events, like the Restoration, receive lines. G. DAVIES.

Commentarius Rinuccianianus de sedis apostolicae legatione ad Foederatos Hiberniae Catholicos per annos 1645-1649. Volumen Secundum, *A Nuncii in Hiberniam adventu usque ad finem anni 1647.* Edited by JOANNES KAVANAGH. [Irish Manuscripts Commission.] (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1936, pp. xxiv, 808, 30*s*.) This edition of the Latin correspondence of Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, sometime bishop of Fermo, sent as nuncio to Ireland with the purpose of uniting the Irish Catholic factions to defend the Catholic religion and to sustain Charles I against the parliamentarians, will be welcomed by students of the Stuart period in Ireland. The failure of the nuncio's mission is a historical commonplace, but the body of his diplomatic correspondence affords a significant and varied insight into the political complexities of the day, an understanding of the Catholic view, and a commentary upon the vacillating policy of King

Charles. The *Commentarius* has been organized and edited with care and is supplied with a calendared table of contents having both page and paragraph references; it presupposes, however, a specialist's knowledge of the period with which it has to do. EDWARD M. HINTON.

The Civil Survey, A. D. 1654-1656. Volume III, *Counties of Donegal, Londonderry, and Tyrone, with the Returns of Church Lands for the Three Counties.* By ROBERT C. SIMINGTON. [Irish Manuscripts Commission.] (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1937, pp. xxxviii, 453, 1 guinea.) From the time of the O'Neill and Desmond attainders in the reign of Elizabeth the history of Anglo-Irish relations traces a vicious circle of land encroachment by English patentees, resistance on the part of the dispossessed Irish, reprisal by English armed forces, and the satisfaction of arrearages in pay due to such forces by additional attainder and transfer of title to Irish lands. The Civil Survey of 1654 constitutes a survey of the provinces of Ireland immediately following the armed progress of Cromwell through the land. Mr. Simington is careful to point out, however, that the survey—of which, to date, records for only parts of the three provinces of Munster, Leinster, and Ulster have been made available to the Irish Manuscripts Commission—constitutes not merely an inventory of spoils but a comprehensive survey of ancient Irish tenures, land measures, and territorial divisions.
EDWARD M. HINTON.

John Locke. By R. I. AARON. [Leaders of Philosophy Series.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. ix, 328, $5.00.) This book is not a biography, but it contains a short biographical essay which utilizes the private papers now in the possession of the Earl of Lovelace. In spite of this new material, however, the old biographies of Fox-Bourne and of Lord Peter King contain much more relevant material, not to speak of Charles Bastide's *John Locke* (1907). The author fails to recognize the significance of Locke's attitude toward English foreign policy and foreign trade. We know that Locke consciously stood in the English imperialist tradition. He was even partner for a time with Sir W. Colleton in the Bahama Street trade. He was hostile to France and a close friend of the earl of Peterborough, commander of the British fleet. These facts are of primary importance for an understanding of Locke's political theory, the analysis of which is by far the weakest part of Professor Aaron's book. Why did Locke separate the federative from the executive power, although they cannot be distinguished under formal categories? The reason is that the federative power is the power to conduct foreign policy and that in his view foreign policy "is much less capable to be directed by antecedent standing positive laws than the executive, and so must necessarily be left to the prudence and wisdom of those whose hands it is in, to be managed for the public good" (*Second Treatise*, sec. 147). The treatment of the concept of property and of the consequence of the labor theory of property for Locke's whole social and political philosophy is also weak. The bulk of the book, however, consists of an analysis of Locke's philosophy, and for this part we have nothing but praise, especially for the discussion of the influence of Gassendi. FRANZ L. NEUMANN.

The Diary of a Surgeon in the Year 1751-1752. By JOHN KNYVETON, Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries, Doctor of Medicine of the University of Aberdeen, Teacher of Midwifery to & Man Mid-Wife in Infirmary Hall, Surgeon's Mate, H.M.S. Lancaster. Edited and transcribed by ERNEST GRAY. (New York, D. Appleton-Century, 1937, pp. xiv, 322, $2.50.) This is a most interesting book and a rather dreadful one. It purports to tell the story of young John Knyveton for

one eventful year, during which he left the country where he had been apprenticed to his uncle, a surgeon, and went to London. There he became a pupil of a Dr. Urquehart and walked the wards, the operating room, and the autopsy room in a mid-eighteenth century hospital. The horror of all he saw and did is told with a dreadful simplicity and honesty. Between September and April Knyveton lived and worked in London. He then served as surgeon's mate on the *Lancaster*, a small vessel destined for service in the West Indies, the setting out being enlivened by a story of flogging and brutality beyond repetition. To those familiar with the medical history of the period the book will not be surprising. That it is authentic autobiography in diary form is neither claimed by the editor nor substantiated by the text. The editor, very certainly a medical man, speaks in the preface of a "leather-bound Journal", a diary kept by John Knyveton for one year, which was presented to him and upon which the book is based. Whether or no John Knyveton ever existed, the book is well worth while, and that it reflects fairly accurately the life of Dr. Tobias George Smollett as told in *Roderick Random* is nothing against it. In both books a poor boy is trained in London, his examination for licensure is described, and finally he joins the navy and recounts brutal cruelty almost beyond one's reading endurance. I cannot tell how far John Knyveton is John Knyveton and how far, through Roderick Random, he is Tobias Smollett. Whatever the case, Ernest Gray has made a thoroughly sound contribution to medical history and good reading for the lay reader with a stout stomach. CECIL K. DRINKER.

Edward Gibbon, 1737-1794. By D. M. Low. (New York, Random House, 1937, pp. xiv, 369, $3.50.) Probably more people have read at least a few pages of the *Decline and Fall* than have dipped into any other history written in modern times. In part, perhaps, this popularity is to be attributed to the fact that Gibbon managed to inject so much of his own personality into the work. Yet no thorough study of his life has been made up to the present. Accounts published during the century after his death were little more than summaries of his *Memoirs*, as edited and published by Lord Sheffield; then came Murray's edition of the original manuscripts of the *Memoirs* and Prothero's of the *Letters* in 1896; many scraps of material have since been published elsewhere, but much remains buried in the British Museum and other repositories. Mr. Low began his Gibbon studies by editing the *Journal* in 1929; he now completes them with this full-length biography. He has gone carefully through all the printed and unprinted material dealing with the historian, has critically sifted the numerous anecdotes told about him by his contemporaries, has followed him in his travels, and has written what will probably remain the authoritative life of Gibbon. Several new letters and other documents are published, many minor errors are corrected, and new information is added; but it must be confessed that all this new material does not greatly change the picture which we carry away from the *Memoirs* themselves—which certainly is a high compliment to Gibbon as a memoir writer. Mr. Low includes an interesting and thoughtful critique of the work of "The Luminous Historian". JOSEPH WARD SWAIN.

Additions and Corrections to Sir John Fortescue's Edition of the Correspondence of King George the Third (Vol. I). By L. B. NAMIER. (Manchester, University Press, 1937, pp. 86, 10*s.* 6*d.*) Professor Namier's meticulous correction of a most casual piece of editing has removed many pitfalls from the path of students using Sir John Fortescue's first volume, which includes the papers of George III through the year 1767. Additional documents newly found at Windsor number

only four, and this undertaking does not include the publication of documents preserved elsewhere. Of the 572 documents published by Fortescue, however, Professor Namier has found more than half needful of correction or of further correlation with other existing documents. While actual errors in transcription are numerous, errors of dating prove even more serious. Professor Namier has rectified many failures to date documents accurately, although it was clearly possible to do so from internal evidence. The principal collections of manuscripts still in private hands which have been used for purposes of correlation are the Bute MSS., the Grafton MSS., the Northington MSS., and that part of the Shelburne MSS. which is still at Bowood. The existence of other drafts of documents in the Windsor collection and variations between them are indicated. If answers to these letters are found in these other collections, the fact is indicated, but the documents are not printed. No one using Sir John Fortescue's edition for careful study should neglect this volume. Professor Namier does not tell us whether we may hope for similar corrections of the five remaining volumes, but of even greater interest to scholars would be an edition by Professor Namier of the large number of George III letters to be found elsewhere than at Windsor, to which American collections, and particularly the William C. Clements Library, could contribute a share. GERDA RICHARDS CROSBY.

Royal Commissions of Inquiry: The Significance of Investigations in British Politics. By HUGH MCDOWALL CLOKIE and J. WILLIAM ROBINSON. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1937, pp. viii, 242, $3.00.) In spite of the importance, dignity, and antiquity of royal commissions of inquiry, this is the first monograph to be written on them. After a brief discussion of their place in British government and a historical sketch of the subject from William the Conqueror's Domesday commissioners to 1800, the authors come to the nineteenth century, "the great era of commissions", as they call it. This method of investigation reached its numerical height in the decade 1851-60, when eighty-five commissions were created. Thereafter there was a decline, halted toward the close of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth but continued after 1910. The authors are strongly of the opinion that the golden age of royal commissions has passed and that no substantial revival is to be anticipated. Their analysis of the conditions that favored the rise and the decline of royal commissions is interesting and valuable, as is their examination of the different types of commission. They have made a contribution to the literature of government and political science. As is likely to be the case when the past, and especially the distant past, is drawn on merely for the purpose of furnishing a little historical background, the history leaves something to be desired. The petitions that were dealt with in medieval parliaments by receivers and triers were not petitions "presented to the House of Commons" (p. 49). The power of the crown to legislate by ordinance was not actually abolished by the Case of Proclamations (p. 43). The Grand Remonstrance is referred to as though it were a law (pp. 43-44). The document of which a translation is printed in the appendix under the caption "Domesday Book" has nothing to do with Domesday Book, and the translation was not copied accurately from the source book from which it was taken.

The Colonial Office: A History. By HENRY L. HALL. [Royal Empire Society Imperial Studies.] (New York, Longmans, Green, 1937, pp. xii, 296, $5.00.) The author's aim was to write the history of the British colonial office from 1836, when the practice of "minuting" dispatches began, to about 1885, though he

often trespasses on later times. The book does not justify the publisher's claim that it is a comprehensive study; in Part II, which is concerned with matters of policy, the treatment is distinctly selective and not comprehensive. Nevertheless, the author gives much fresh information, largely gleaned from the colonial office records. His heroes are not the parliamentary politicians who presided over the colonial office but the permanent undersecretaries, especially Sir James Stephen, Sir Frederic Rogers, and Sir Robert Herbert, though he comes to the conclusion that the influence of the permanent staff has been exaggerated. Viewing the activities of the colonial office broadly and taking into account the many difficulties with which it had to contend, Dr. Hall believes that on the whole it did its work well.

Dyarchy in Practice. By A. APPADORAI. With a Foreword by A. B. KEITH. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1937, pp. xiv, 431, $3.50.) This is a scholarly and reliable account of the system of provincial government known as dyarchy, which was introduced in British India by the Government of India Act, 1919. After describing the origin and essential features of the system the author examines its operation in detail. He displays none of the animus that has often marked discussions of Indian government. His book, which is warmly praised by Professor Berriedale Keith in a foreword, should be of value to students of political science in general as well as to students of Indian government.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

Inventaire des archives de l'assistance publique de Bruxelles: Fonds de la suprême charité. By PAUL BONENFANT. (Brussels, Imprimerie industrielle et financière, 1938, pp. 28.)

Tafels van de Resolutieboeken der Staten van Vlaanderen. I, *1580-1583 en 1614-1631*. Edited by HUBERT VAN HOUTTE. [Académie royale de Belgique.] (Brussels, Lamertin, 1936, pp. x, 127.) In the introduction to this volume the reader is informed that the resolutions of the provincial estates of Flanders for the period are to be found in the provincial archives at Ghent, together with the calendars, of which the first volume is reproduced by the editor. Inasmuch as the provincial estates in the Netherlands (especially those in the south) played a greater part in the government of the country than did the states-general, it was felt by the Royal Commission for History that at least the tables or calendars ought to be published. No scholar could dispute the wisdom of this decision. We are told in the calendars how William of Orange, for example, accepted the office of governor of Flanders but refused to swear the required oath (no. 82), and how much Flanders had to contribute to the common fund for the defense of the whole country (no. 141). The second part, covering the years 1614-31, presents a mass of details about the digging of a canal between Bruges and Ghent. An excellent index completes the volume. A. HYMA.

Robespierre, First Modern Dictator. By RALPH KORNGOLD. (London, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xiii, 400, 16*s*.) This is a Robespierre in the Mathiez tradition. Mr. Korngold uses at times a kind of panting rhetoric the master would not have used, and he is inclined to find more faults in Robespierre's tactics just before and during the Thermidor crisis than Mathiez usually did. But he does make of Robespierre a hero and a statesman. Again in the tradition of the master, he sets great store on the decrees of Ventôse, which he regards as proof that Robespierre was consciously trying to pursue political democracy to a logical end in economic democracy. Throughout the book Mr. Korngold is constantly defending Robespierre, not only as a politician but as a moral person. The book, though carefully built up and by no means unscholarly, has little to offer the historian or the teacher of history. No one interested in the period—except perhaps Mrs. Nesta Webster and her admirers—now thinks of Robespierre as a tiger thirsting for blood or as personally responsible for the Terror. Mr. Korngold is somewhat less than iconoclastic. (Incidentally, it seems an error of tactics to call a man a "dictator" in your title and in your text work hard to show that he was no dictator.) One's final estimate of Robespierre must always have an element of subjectiveness. To call him an ambitious prig with a taste for melodrama and metaphysics would probably be to exaggerate in the opposite direction from Mr. Korngold. But any judicious estimate must take into account that part of Robespierre which said, and almost certainly believed: "I was made to combat crime, not to govern it. . . . I have sometimes feared—I confess it—to become sullied myself by the unclean presence of perverted individuals who have insinuated themselves among the sincere friends of mankind." CRANE BRINTON.

Mémoires de Valérie Masuyer, dame d'honneur de la Reine Hortense. With Introduction and Notes by JEAN BOURGUIGNON. (Paris, Plon, 1937, pp. xxxvi, 461.) Mlle. Valérie Masuyer was dame d'honneur to the dethroned Queen Hortense of the Netherlands from 1830 to 1837. Her letters and memoirs cover these years and hence treat of Hortense's hectic life and the scatterbrained exploits of the future Napoleon III.

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Germany, Switzerland, and Hungary

E. N. Anderson

Rheinisch-Westfälische Wirtschaftsbiographien. Volume II, no. 1; Volume II, nos. 2-3; Volume III, *Bergmannsfamilien in Rheinland und Westfalen*, by Walter Serlo. [Historische Kommission des Provinzialinstituts für Westfäl. Landes- und Volkskunde.] (Münster in Westfalen, Aschendorff, 1934; 1937; 1936, pp. 160; 161-404; viii, 256, 3.60; 4.87; 5.63 M.) These short biographies are eminently useful. They are frequently thin, however, and lacking in information about the business which the subject founded or directed; furthermore, figures like Mevissen and Stumm-Halberg, of whom there are easily available biographies, might well have been omitted in favor of other important but less known men. The essays span the period from the late eighteenth century to the twentieth century. They treat the leaders of many kinds of economic enterprise—banking, mining, industry (Eau de Cologne, steel, leather, glass, etc.), transportation, and commerce. They give family histories as well as the lives of individuals, and they show the relations between the individuals, the businesses, the families, and often between these and the state. A century and a half of the economic history of probably the richest single area in Germany is here portrayed as it has not been previously. With more books like these the historian can take German politics out of the vacuum and relate it to economic and social interests. He can do something concrete with the social history of the German bourgeoisie. To the reviewer, who has struggled with these problems, the books offer a most welcome aid. He hopes that Dr. Serlo, who brings together in Volume III a few of the studies which he wrote for the *Berg- und Hüttenmännische Zeitschrift Glückauf* between 1926 and 1931, will in the near future complete the publication of these essays in book form. The kind of study represented in these volumes balances somewhat the mass of material available in print on the German professors, Bismarck and his epigones, and the chitter-chatter *genus* Princess Radziwill.

Schiller und der Individualitätsgedanke: Eine Studie zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Historismus. By Friedrich Meinecke. [Wissenschaft und Zeitgeist.] (Leipzig, Felix Meiner, 1937, pp. 47, 1.80 M.) This essay constitutes another chapter in the author's work, *Die Entstehung des Historismus*, published in 1936. The problem is that of showing how "the principle of individuality, combined with the idea of individual development, broke through the confines of natural law thinking and opened to the eye the endless richness of particular laws *(Eigengesetzlichkeiten)*, which control the life of individuals as well as of the human

forms created by them". But, Meinecke continues, this view was kept in check by the equally justified and necessary one of natural law thinking—that there are "great typical and recurring elements in life and history" and that "this natural law belief in timeless guides for knowledge and action rests upon an inextinguishable need of the human spirit" (p. 3). He traces the struggle between these two ideals in the person of Schiller and shows how the poet endeavored to reconcile them. Schiller, he maintains, was by nature bound to the natural law way of thinking, but he also felt the pull of individualism. Meinecke denies that the conflict diminished the poet's achievement; he believes that Schiller worked out a solution whereby his thinking in terms of absolutes enriched his individuality. The essay is written in the author's usual admirable style.

Die Judenfrage in der deutschen Geschichte. By Dr. Wilhelm Grau. Zweite durchgesehene Auflage. (Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1937, pp. 32, 1.20 M.) This pamphlet by the official director of historical studies in Germany of the Jewish problem illustrates the present level of National Socialist scholarship. The author interprets the material in terms of "the natural opposition of the German to the Jew" (p. 6) and calls the assimilation of the Jews "a great sin against nature" (p. 28). This remark should inspire all those historians who are not humanists (for humanism is "bloodless", p. 6), who damn the idea of the equality of all men as "insane" (p. 23), and who are eager to listen to "the voice of the blood" (p. 20). It shows what history is like when written with one's blood.

Gustav Schmoller und die Volkswirtschaftslehre. By Carl Brinkmann. (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1937, pp. 194. 6 M.) Although the author disclaims any biographical intent, his basic interpretation of Schmoller's personal and public life is a welcome bio-bibliographical contribution to German history. His avowed purpose, a systematic inquiry into economic theory and its history, could have been furthered by giving greater recognition to antecedent theories and to the profound influence exerted by Schmoller on non-German economists, historians, and sociologists. In both regards reference to the late American historical sociologist, Albion W. Small, is conspicuously absent. Small, one of the most distinguished students of Schmoller, in his work, *The Cameralists, the Pioneers of German Social Polity* (1909), sensed the forces back of the social teachings of the Historical School and its interpretation of the state as an equalizer of class conflicts. Small's laborious treatment of German social philosophy and economic methodology in the nineteenth century in his *Origins of Sociology* (1924) gave broad attention to Schmoller, especially to the issues between him, Menger, and Treitschke. Students will still have need to refer to Small's presentation with its comments on problems in the United States, problems again acute in a period of transition in many respects parallel to that which caused the Schmoller-Treitschke controversy. In view of the universality of Schmoller's approach, however, Professor Brinkmann limits himself wisely to the "time and space" of German prewar economics. Such concentration permits a clear discussion of Schmoller's organizational activities and major works. An entire chapter is devoted to the part Schmoller played in the development of economic history. Granted the pedantry of Georg von Below's criticism, it would have been worthwhile to estimate its basic elements. Attention might also have been directed to Georg Friedrich Knapp, a greater contemporary economic historian, so far as technique is concerned, than Schmoller. Ernst Correll.

This was Germany: An Observer at the Court of Berlin. Letters of Princess Marie Radziwill to General di Robilant, K. C. B., G. C. M. G., One Time Italian Mili-

tary Attaché at Berlin, 1908-1915. Edited and translated from the French by CYRIL SPENCER FOX. (London, John Murray, 1937, pp. vii, 403, 15*s*.) This is a translation of the fourth volume of *Une grande dame d'avant guerre: Lettres de la Princesse Radziwill au Général de Robilant, 1889-1914* (4 vols., Bologna, 1933-34). The princess's Berlin salon on the Pariser Platz, frequented by diplomats, officers, and great nobles, was a clearinghouse for high gossip, political rumor, and scandal. Cast in diary or journal form and impersonal in tone, these letters are a distillation of the current political and diplomatic tittle-tattle of this cosmopolitan circle. For the student of diplomatic history the correspondence is of secondary importance; as a record of comment and opinion it is inferior to the well-informed daily press. Sociologically the letters are of some importance because they reflect the preconceptions, attitudes, and stereotypes of the cosmopolitan aristocracy of prewar Europe. They are stamped with ultramontanism, ultraroyalism, and case-hardened snobbishness. Apprehension is displayed over the sharpening of national and class conflicts, and the correspondence abounds in prophecies of earthquake and eclipse, but there is no comprehension of basic compulsions or social maladjustments. Anything that came from below was "folly", and the princess's remedy for social unrest was "to maintain as much religious feeling as possible in the masses, who are persons of habit by nature" (p. 133). Title and subtitle of the volume are both misleading. The princess was not attached to the court, although she moved in court society. One word added to the main title would bring it more into line with truth: *This was Never Germany*. ORON JAMES HALE.

Centenaire de la Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande: Procès-verbaux des séances des 2 et 3 juillet, 1937. (Lausanne, Payot, 1937, pp. 19.) *Tables, 1837-1937, suivies d'une notice historique sur la société et d'une liste complète de ses membres. (Ibid.*, pp. 272, 8 fr.) A useful list of the monographs and documents published by the society and a brief historical sketch of it are given in the second of these publications.

"Testimonia Temporum": Discours et écrits, 1911-1936. By GIUSEPPE MOTTA. Two volumes. (Bellinzona, Istituto Editoriale Ticinese; New York, Stechert, 1931; 1937, pp. ix, 464; ix, 220.) The speeches and proclamations of this Swiss statesman, five times elected president of his country, are of interest to historians, economists, sociologists, and legislators, as well as to linguists. ERNEST HOWALD.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

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Giovanni Ferretti, ed. Una testimonianza di Prospero Viani su Curtatone e Montanara. *Ibid.*, Mar.

Vittorio Cian, ed. Fra le carte di Giovanni Prati, con documenti inediti. *N. Antol.*, Nov. 16.

Id. Giovanni Prati e Urbano Rattazzi: Lettere inedite. *Rass. Stor. Risorgimento*, Jan.

Evelina Rinaldi, ed. Un nuovo documento intorno alla situazione di Roma nel 1862. *Ibid.*

Alessandro Guiccioli. Diario del 1885, del 1886. *N. Antol.*, Nov. 1, 16, Dec. 1.

Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia

Hans Kohn

Das Sudetendeutschtum: Sein Wesen und Werden im Wandel der Jahrhunderte. Edited by Gustav Pirchan, Wilhelm Weizsäcker, Heinz Zatschek. (Brünn and Leipzig, Rohrer, 1938, pp. 595, 18 M.) This Festschrift, published on the occasion of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Verein für Geschichte der

Deutschen in Böhmen, contains fifteen articles by the foremost German historians of Czechoslovakia. The first section deals comprehensively with the Middle Ages, discussing not only the political and nationality problems but also the development of law, language, literature, and art among the Germans in Bohemia and Moravia. In the second section, which deals with the development after the Hussite period, Wilhelm Wostry devotes a highly interesting article to the Germans in Bohemia between the Hussite and the Thirty Years' wars, while Eduard Winter treats the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the point of view of intellectual history. As a whole, the articles give a comprehensive view of history, literature, and Volkskunde of the Sudeten Germans from their earliest settlement in Bohemia to the present day. Naturally, the contributions are of different scope and value and sometimes reflect strongly the different political views of their authors.

Germanen in Böhmens Frühzeit. By HELMUT PREIDEL. (Karlsbad, Kraft, 1938, pp. 62, Kc. 36.) An excellent popular survey, richly illustrated, of the history and civilization of the early German and Slav settlers in Bohemia.

Wyclif and Bohemia. By OTAKAR ODLOŽILÍK. (Prague, published by the author, 1937, pp. 60.) The two essays in this handsomely printed booklet deal with Wyclif's influence on spiritual life in the Bohemian lands and with the contact between English and Czech thought in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Karel Starší ze Žerotína. By OTAKAR ODLOŽILÍK. (Prague, Melantrich, 1938, pp. 197, Kc. 30.) Karl von Žerotín, the wealthy and influential leader of the Moravian Brethren, was the only leading Protestant nobleman who in the years 1618 to 1620 remained loyal to the emperor but later emigrated voluntarily. The author, a specialist in the history of the Reformation period in Czechoslovakia, gives a complete account of the life and activities of his hero. He explains Žerotín's nonparticipation in the revolution against Ferdinand II by his Moravian separatism and his dislike of the Bohemian Czechs.

Masaryk: A Memorial Address delivered before the Czechoslovak Sokol of San Francisco on October 31, 1937. By ROBERT JOSEPH KERNER. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1938, pp. 28.) This booklet succeeds in capturing and distilling in a very few pages the essence of Masaryk's activities and thought and in setting them, at the same time, in their true perspective with regard to Czech history and to the present international situation. Masaryk, who married an American woman, is well characterized by the author as a "modern Czech Puritan". "No state, no society, can be managed without the ethical bases of the state and politics; and no state can long endure, if it infringes the broad rules of human morality." There is a short but very useful bibliography.

Istorija srpskog naroda u srednjem veku. Knjiga I: O izvorima. By STANOJE STANOJEVIĆ. (Belgrade, Royal Serbian Academy of Sciences, 1937, pp. 392, Din. 60.) The author, who died last fall, did not live to see the publication of the first volume of his planned monumental history of the Serb people in the Middle Ages. The present volume deals only with the sources of medieval Serb history. It discusses the archives and manuscript collections, not only in Serbia but also in the many Orthodox monasteries outside Yugoslavia and in Italian cities, which bear upon Serb history. The author then deals with the discovery and use of the source material and thus arrives at an attempt at Serb historiography.

Sarajevo i njegova okolina od najstarijih vremena do austro-ugarske okupacije. By VLADISLAV SKARIĆ. (Sarajevo, published by the municipality, 1937, pp. 292, Din.

60.) The author was for many years director of the Landesmuseum for Bosnia-Herzegovina and has a rare knowledge of all the Turkish sources and documents for the history of his native town. His book, which is well illustrated, gives in great detail the history of Sarajevo under Turkish rule from the sixteenth century, when it was a cultural and economic center of the northern Balkans, until 1878. Developments are traced with greatest care and with a detailed discussion of the background of hostility to reform which led to revolt and finally to the Austrian occupation.

Das deutsche Theater in Zagreb 1780-1840. By Blanka Breyer. (Zagreb, doctor's thesis of the University of Zagreb, 1938, pp. 136.) This thesis is of interest for its descriptions of intellectual life in a small provincial town in the Habsburg Empire over one hundred years ago and the slow rise of Croatian nationalism. The German theater in Agram copied faithfully the literary and theatrical fashions of the larger German towns. The first two presentations of plays in Croatian, translations of two comedies by Kotzebue, were not given until 1832. Two years later the theater moved for the first time into a building of its own, inaugurated by Körner's "Zriny", but already in 1839 the director proposed the transformation of the theater into a Croatian, or, as it was then called, Illyrian, national theater, which was opened in 1840 by a theatrical troop from Novi Sad.

Istraga u Sarajevskom atentatu. By Leo Pfeffer. (Zagreb, Nova Evropa, 1938, pp. 176, Din. 70.) The author of this book was the judge who conducted the preliminary inquiry into the assassination at Sarajevo. In the present volume, which contains many illustrations and documents, he tries to reconstruct out of his personal knowledge the happenings of that fateful day, their background, and their consequences. M. Ćurčin contributes an introduction in which he absolves the Serb government from all complicity in the assassination.

Jugoslovenska misao: Istorija ideje jugoslovenskog narodnog ujedinjenja i oslobođenja od 1790-1918. By Ferdo Šišić. (Belgrade, Balkanski Institute, 1937, pp. 280, Din. 30.) The well-known historian of the University of Zagreb presents here a valuable synthesis of the Jugoslav national movement and especially of its cultural development, which had its center much more in Croatia, with its freer cultural development, than in the more backward Serbia.

Articles

Josef Pekař. Wallenstein and the Habsburgs. *Slav. and East Europ. Rev.*, Jan.

Josef Dobiáš. Několik problémů z nejstarších dějin našeho území (some problems of the most ancient history of Czech territory). II. Kotinove. *Český Časopis Historický*, 1937, nos. 3-4.

Jaroslav Papoušek. T. G. Masaryk a československé dějepisectví (Masaryk and Czechoslovak historiography). *Ibid.*, 1938, no. 1.

Lazar Marković. The Yugoslav Constitutional Problem. *Slav. and East Europ. Rev.*, Jan.

Northern Europe

O. J. Falnes

Nidaros og Stiklestad, Olavs-Jubileet, 1930: Minneskrift. Edited by Oluf Kolsrud. [Norvegia Sacra.] (Oslo, Steenske, 1937, pp. xxxii, 728, 20 kr.) On July 29, 1930, nine hundred years had passed since King Olaf II, the major saint of the Northern churches, had won the crown of martyrdom on the battlefield of

Stiklestad. During the week of that date the church and people of Norway celebrated the great occasion with processions and pageantry, with sermons and addresses, with cantatas and choral song. A record of the festivities (which centered in and about the cathedral of Trondheim) has been compiled by Professor Kolsrud and published as a yearbook of *Norvegia Sacra*. In addition to giving a detailed statement of what was said and done at the national shrine the editor has included an account of festivities in other Norwegian localities, in England, in the United States, and elsewhere in the world where Norsemen have found homes. An introductory chapter tells the history of the restoration of the cathedral, the nave of which was reconsecrated on July 28. The account closes with a description of a historical exposition at Trondheim to which had been brought a large assortment of material objects, old and new, that might serve to illustrate the history of church and culture in Norway. The volume is illustrated and has a very satisfactory index. LAURENCE M. LARSON.

ARTICLES

JONAS JANSEN. Innholdsliste til Historisk Tidsskrift, bind I-XXX [Index to vols. I-XXX]. *Hist. Tidsskr.* (Nor.), 1937, no. 3, suppl.

HARALD L. TVETERÅS. Norges historie: Bibliografi for 1934. *Ibid.*, 1937, no. 4.

S. SKAPPEL. Høstingsbruk og Dyrkingsbruk: Streiftog gjennem 600 år av vår landbrukshistorie. *Ibid.*

AXEL LINVALD. Vor historieskrivning og dens nationale opgaver [general survey of Danish historiography]. *Tilskueren*, Jan.

LAURITZ WEIBULL. Didrik Slaghæk efter Stockholms blodbad. *Scandia*, Dec.

C. KLITGAARD. Vendsysselske selveierbønder før og efter Klemensfeiden. *Hist. Tidsskr.* (Dan.), IV, nos. 1-2.

RUNAR LÖNNQVIST. Nuntien Germanico Malaspina och planerne på Sveriges rekatolisering 1593-1594. *Hist. Tidskr.* (Sw.), 1937, no. 4.

SVEN TUNBERG. Sigismund and Sweden, 1597-98. *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*, May, 1937.

HANS JENSEN. Vi alene vide—et kildekritisk bidrag til vurdering af dansk enevælde. *Hist. Tidsskr.* (Dan.), 1937, no. 3.

KAZIMIERZ PIWARSKI. Lithuanian Participation in Poland's Baltic Policies, 1650-1700. *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*, May, 1937.

AKDES NIMET KURAT. The Political Activity of Charles XII, King of Sweden, in Turkey. *Ibid.*, Sept., 1937.

HOLGER HJELHOLT. Inkorporationen af den gottorpske del af hertugdømmet Slesvig i året 1721. *Hist. Tidsskr.* (Dan.), 1937, no. 3.

A. BRINK. En glemt dansk søfarer [Morten Spanberg]. *Gads Danske Mag.*, Jan.

PER NYSTRØM. "Mercatura Ruthenica" [a manuscript copy of Kilburger's work in the Swedish Royal Archives]. *Scandia*, Dec.

BRONISŁAW DEMBIŃSKI. Ignatius Potocki's Mission to Berlin in 1792. *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*, Sept.

TORSTEN GIHL. Nordisk samverkan på neutralitetsrättens område. *Nordisk Tidskrift*, 1938, no. 1.

CARL J. KULSRUD. The Seizure of the Danish Fleet, 1807. *Am. Jour. Internat. Law*, Apr.

MARIAN KUKIEL. Baltic Problems of the War of 1812. *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*, Jan.

JOHN MIDGAARD. Kampen om Tollspørsmålet i Norge i 1860-årene. *Hist. Tidsskr.* (Nor.), 1937, no. 3.

MARIUS GORMSEN and JOHAN F. E. BELINFANTE. The Oslo Conventions. *Baltic and Scandinavian Countries*, Jan.

AAGE FRIIS, ed. Orla Lehmanns beretning om ministerskiftet i November-December 1863. *Hist. Tidsskr.* (Dan.), 1937, no. 3.

RUSSIA

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Ocherk istorii narodov Severo-zapadnoi Sibiri [sketch of the history of the peoples of northwestern Siberia]. By V. G. KARTZOV. (Moscow, Sotzekgiz, 1937, pp. 132, 1 r.) This is a brief history, from the earliest times to our day, of the Voguls (Mansi), Ostyaks (Khante), and Samoyeds (Nentzy), who inhabit the so-called Ostyak-Vogul National District of R.S.F.S.R. in northwestern Siberia. It is a work intended for popular consumption.

Istoriya Sibiri [a history of Siberia]. By GERHARD FRIEDRICH MÜLLER (Miller). Volume I. (Moscow, Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk SSSR, 1937, pp. 607, 22 c.) The first two volumes of this important work from the pen of "the father of Siberian history" were first published in the original German in 1761 and 1763. A Russian translation from the manuscript of Volume I appeared in 1750, and subsequently excerpts from Volume II were issued in Russian. Volume III has remained unpublished. The present edition is to include the entire text of the history in a new translation. The first volume opens with two lengthy essays on Müller as a historian of Siberia and on his other writings relating to Siberia. The text is preceded by Müller's autobiography and is followed by notes and several supplements containing unpublished documents. There are ample indexes.

Istoriya Tatarii v materialakh i dokumentakh [documentary history of Tartary]. (Moscow, Gosudarstvennoye sotzial'no-ekon. izdatel'stvo, 1937, pp. 503, 11.50 r.) Published under the auspices of the Tartar Research Institute of Marxism-Leninism and of the Institute of History attached to the Academy of Sciences, this work is a collection of excerpts from sources, arranged under the following heads: (1) the Bulgar khanate; (2) Mongols in Eastern Europe: the Golden Horde; (3) the Kazan khanate; (4) the transformation of Tartary into a colony of the Muscovite state; (5) serf economy in Tartary from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century; (6) Tartary in the period of the decay of serf economy; (7) the Russification policy of czarism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; (8) class struggle and the national movement in Tartary from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. The text is provided with explanatory notes and a list of legislative acts relating to the Volga peoples for the period 1649-1825.

Ivan Peresvetov und seine Schriften zur Erneuerung des Moskauer Reiches. By WERNER PHILIPP. [Osteuropäische Forschungen.] (Berlin, Ost-Europa, 1935, pp. viii, 123, 5.20 M.) In this carefully thought out book, Philipp gives an adequate interpretation of the works of Peresvetov, a unique Russian thinker of the sixteenth century. In many respects Peresvetov recalls his great Western European contemporary, Machiavelli. But at the same time he was original and independent. Philipp, like V. Rzhiga, the author of the first monograph on Peresvetov, is inclined to regard Peresvetov's autobiography as authentic, although with some reservations. The question as to what sources were used by Peresvetov cannot be considered as definitely solved. The most unexpected discoveries are possible here. Philipp goes so far as to advance the suggestion that Peresvetov, in outlining his empirical ideal of the state, could have had in mind one of the contemporary Italian principalities. Philipp does not mention the problem of a possible direct influence of Machiavelli's works on the doctrines of his Russian cothinker. The central theme of Philipp's book is Peresvetov's notions of the law (*pravda*). It is exactly here that Peresvetov decisively breaks with the life conception of the Russian past—with the "starina". He can be justly

called one of the founders of the idea of *Staatsraison*. And although Russian history did not take the road of Peresvetov's laicism and rationalism but proceeded along the line of divine right and the prerogatives of the czar which were formulated by Ivan IV himself, Peresvetov's political opinion did not remain without influence both on his contemporaries and on the later generations of the Russian class of state servants. It was only in the times of Peter I that a new basis for czarist power, inspired by the natural-legal theories of the West, began to develop. Peresvetov had been forgotten and was to remain so for a long time. ANDREW EFRON.

Napoleon i Ukrayina [Napoleon and the Ukraine]. By ILKO BORSHCHAK. (Lwów, 1937, pp. 132.) This book deals with the Ukrainian provinces of Russia as the object of the foreign policy of the French Revolution and the first empire. It is one of a series of studies on Franco-Ukrainian relations undertaken by the author, who has used both manuscript and printed sources.

ARTICLES

N. T. BELYAYEV. O nachale Rusi [origin of Russia]. *Trudy kruzhka K poznaniyu Rossii*, 1937, no. 2.

G. V. GLINKA. Kolonizatziya russkoĭ Azii [colonization of Russian Asia]. *Ibid.*

S. K. BOGOYAVLENSKI. Prikaznyye dyaki XVII v. [the "diaks" in the 17th century]. *Istoricheskiye zapiski*, 1937, no. 1.

MIRON KORDUBA. La littérature historique soviétique-ukrainienne: Compte-rendu, 1917-1931. *Bull. Fédération Sociétés Hist. Europe Orientale*, Warsaw, 1937, no. 7.

ALEXANDER HAGGERTY KRAPPE. La chute du paganisme à Kiev. *Rev. Études Slaves*, XVII, nos. 3-4.

N. MONASTEREV. La grande expédition arctique russe de 1733-1743. *Rev. Maritime*, Jan.

A. POGODIN. Les rodsi, un peuple imaginaire. *Rev. Études Slaves*, XVII, nos. 1-2.

B. SOKOLOV. Iz istorii russkoĭ derevni [contribution to the history of the Russian village]. *Istoricheski zhurnal*, 1938, no. 4.

ADOLF TÖRNGREN. Mystiken kring Alexander I:s död. *Finsk Tidskrift*, 1938, CXXIV.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

Hong Kong: Birth, Adolescence, and Coming of Age. By GEOFFREY ROBLEY SAYER. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. viii, 232, $6.50.) This volume provokes the question how far a work of love by an amateur historian should be judged by professional standards. As a student in the Hong Kong civil service, the author conceived a lively interest in the picturesque origins of the colony and has traced them to 1862, particularly the early land settlements and the organization of the government services. His location of early sites is a good piece of detective work and contributes materially to our knowledge. Unfortunately he allowed himself to be led into a summary of Anglo-Chinese relations from 1834 to 1841. This he bases almost entirely on the British blue book for 1840 and the *Chinese Repository*, sources which, though fundamental, have been rather thoroughly exploited by such writers as Dr. H. B. Morse. The result is that slightly different details embellish the same old story. P. C. Kuo's *A Critical Study of the First Anglo-Chinese War* is not used. The only Chinese materials the existence of which is noticed are those found translated in the *Repository*. Strangely enough, no use is made of the leading newspaper for the period, the *China Mail*, which could have been easily consulted, either in Hong Kong at the colonial secretary's office (for 1845-1853) or at the Public Library on Queen's Road or in London at the British Museum. Romanizations are irregular. Ordi-

nance No. 5 of 1854 was not "fully approved at home" (p. 176). The old myth is repeated (p. 188) that British consuls "had a responsibility under the treaty for collecting import duties from their nationals on behalf of the Chinese Customs". The book is well indexed and has reference value for the specialist interested in the local scene. It will probably amuse the general reader but adds little to diplomatic or administrative history. J. K. FAIRBANK.

Red Star over China. By EDGAR SNOW. (New York, Random House, 1938, pp. xiv, 474, $3.00.) During the nine years' struggle in China between the nationalist forces under Chiang Kai-shek and the communists (1927-1936) no one, Chinese or foreigner, entered the territory of the communists to return with a report of conditions until Edgar Snow, an American newspaperman, succeeded in spending several months there in the summer and fall of 1936. His account of his sojourn has been widely hailed as an outstanding piece of reporting. While he is noticeably sympathetic to the communists, his descriptions of life among the Chinese reds and his biographical accounts of their outstanding leaders, based upon extended firsthand interviews, have a sound ring of authenticity and sincerity. However, his interpretations of the course of the Chinese revolution and his theorizing on the nature of the Chinese communist movement are open to criticism. *Pacific Affairs* (June, 1938, pp. 237-52) carries a long letter from "Asiaticus" criticizing the work from this angle, together with Mr. Snow's reply. These form an important addendum to the book. Because of the unique character of the material presented, the work becomes a prime source for historians of contemporary China.

Chinese Foreign Affairs: Organization and Control. An abridgment. By PINGHOU C. LIU. (New York, Graduate School of New York University, 1937, pp. v, 27.) This pamphlet is an abridgment of a thesis submitted by the author for the degree of doctor of philosophy. Sufficient new material, as far as Western literature on the subject goes, is presented to make one hope that a fuller résumé if not all of Dr. Liu's 264-page manuscript will someday be published. The purpose of his thesis, he states in his preface, is twofold: "(1) to present a historical development of the organization for the conduct of Chinese foreign affairs; and (2) to study the . . . agencies through and by which modern China's foreign relations are controlled". Among the original Chinese sources used are the *Chou Pan I Wu Shih Mo* (the beginning and end of the management of "barbarian", *i.e.*, foreign, affairs) and the *Wai-Chiao Kung-pao* (the diplomatic gazette). The original manuscript includes five appendixes and twelve pages of bibliography.

Photo-History. Issue No. 4, *China Reborn.* (New York, Photo-History, Inc., Jan., 1938, pp. 68, 25 cents.) The editors of *Photo-History* have done a splendid piece of work in this issue. The photographs and illustrations are well chosen and excellently reproduced to portray a cross section of living, struggling, modernizing China. The descriptive and historical material is informative and accurate. The statement, however (p. 7), that "printing presses" were in use in China before they came into use in the West is incorrect. Of course China developed block printing and even printing from movable type long before Europe, but the printing press was never used in the East until brought by Westerners. Specialists and captious critics could no doubt find other slips, but the present writer is of the opinion that this issue would be of use in introductory courses on modern Far Eastern history and a reliable guide to the general reader interested in grasping painlessly and quickly the essential outlines of the contemporary scene in China.

ARTICLES

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HSÜ, CHUNG-SHU. Yin Chou chih Chi Shih Chi chih Chien-t'ao [an examination of some historical data during the transitional period from the Yin to the Chou dynasties]. *Bull. Inst. Hist. and Philol. Academia Sinica*, VII, no. 2, 1936 [received 1938].

CH'ÜAN, HAN-SHENG. Sung-tai Kuan-li chih Szu-ying Shang-yeh [the private commercial activities of officials during the Sung dynasty]. *Ibid.*

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LI, KUANG-MING. Ming T'ai-tsu I Seng Shih Jih-pen K'ao [the sending of Buddhist priests to Japan by Emperor T'ai-tsu]. *Bull. Inst. Hist. and Philol. Academia Sinica*, VII, no. 2.

L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH. Korean Interference with Chinese Historical Records. *Jour. North China Branch Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1937.

ERICH HAENISCH. Zwei kaiserliche Erlasse. *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Stud.*, Apr.

RALPH M. CORY. Father Gregorio de Cespedes. *Trans. Korea Branch Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 1937.

FRIEDRICH OTTE. Erziehung der Volksmassen zum nationalen Denken in China—als Mittel zur Rettung von Staat und Volk durch das Schrifttum. *Mitteil. Ausland-Hochschule Univ. Berlin*, 1936.

THOMAS E. LA FARGUE. Japan's Role in the World War. *Amerasia*, Apr.

RICHARD G. IRWIN. Pai Hua comes of Age. *Ibid.*

YASUSHI SEKIGUCHI. The Changing Status of the Cabinet in Japan. *Pacific Affairs*, Mar.

TYLER DENNETT. Alternative American Policies in the Far East. *For. Affairs*, Apr.

DOROTHY P. MILLER. The Sino-Japanese Conflict: Some Recent Pertinent Books. *Bull. New York Public Library*, Jan.

UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

Third Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1937. [The National Archives, Publication No. 8.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1938, pp. vii, 175.) This volume includes reports of the various offices and divisions of the National Archives and, as appendixes, the regulations governing the use of records there, the report of the director of the Survey of Federal Archives to the W.P.A., and finally a guide to all the material accessioned by the National Archives through June 30, 1937. Besides describing the records, there are given such administrative history as seems necessary, the restrictions upon the use of records, existing inventories and other aids, and bibliographical references.

Approaches to American Social History. Edited by WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH. [The Appleton-Century Historical Essays.] (New York, Appleton-Century, 1937, pp. 101, $1.25.) The papers by Roy F. Nichols, Bernard DeVoto, and John A. Krout appraising the History of American Life series edited by Arthur M. Schlesinger and Dixon Ryan Fox, which were read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association at Providence in December, 1936, have been published in this short volume. Professor Schlesinger's response to these papers, entitled "An

Editor's Second Thoughts", is also included. In a brief foreword Professor Lingelbach comments on the development of interest in social history.

Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society. Number 34. (New York, the Society, 1937, pp. xxvii, 332, $4.00.) This volume, edited by a committee of which Albert M. Friedenberg was chairman, includes, in addition to an account of the fortieth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, "German Jews in White Labor Servitude in America" by Guido Kisch, "Early American Hebrew Documents" by Isaac Rivkind, "Some Eighteenth Century American Jewish Letters" edited and translated by Joshua N. Neumann, "A Bibliography of the Writings of Max James Kohler" by Edward D. Coleman, and other studies of briefer length.

The Commercial Reciprocity Policy of the United States, 1774-1829. By VERNON G. SETSER. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937, pp. xi, 305, $3.00.) This careful and well-documented study provides an excellent review of American diplomatic and legislative policy during the period when reciprocity, which has had different meanings at different times, meant an attempt both to remove discriminations against American shipping and to lower European trade barriers. At the same time it presents the American struggles for neutral rights during the Napoleonic wars, without attempting to portray the whole international economic policy. The author deserves special thanks for his attention to the commercial policy of the new country during the years of "disillusionment and confusion" from 1783 to 1789 and for his brief and telling account of the negotiations of 1784-86. His general comments show his strong interest in the widest aspects of his problem. "If the economists", he tells us, "had not already developed the principles of economic liberalism, American Statesmen would have been under the necessity of inventing them". The new country, undertaking to make a place for herself in a world "whose ideal was economic self-sufficiency", could not help advocating economic liberalism. One is tempted to ask whether Germany between 1870 and 1914 was not in the position of a rising new country, and whether she viewed her rise in terms of liberalizing trade, or whether Japan sees her present problem in terms of freer trade. I do not wish to intimate that the author supposes that he has any universal formula to cover all cases of the rise of new trading nations. It is true, however, that a policy of liberalizing trade is more largely a matter of choice than one would suppose from his account.

C. F. REMER.

General Zachary Taylor, the Louisiana President of the United States of America. By JAMES J. A. FORTIER. (New Orleans, Louisiana State Museum, 1937, pp. 70, 25 cents.) The life of Zachary Taylor and Louisiana's part in the war with Mexico, including a genealogy of the descendants of General Taylor and a brief account of General Richard Taylor, his son, are given in this pamphlet. There are numerous illustrations.

General Philip Kearny, Battle Soldier of Five Wars, including the Conquest of the West by General Stephen Watts Kearny. By THOMAS KEARNY. With a Preface by Frank Monaghan. (New York, Putnam's, 1937, pp. xv, 496, $4.00.) This biography suggests that Kearny's friends are, unintentionally, his worst enemies. The dashing soldier seldom emerges as the man he was from the mass of detail and verbiage, much of it unnecessary and irrelevant, that clutters the narrative. The book is, generally, uncritical and highly laudatory and is filled with many long extracts from newspapers, speeches, and reports that add little to the story. Phil Kearny was a born fighter, at his best in the smoke and turmoil of battle.

But there are too many "might have beens" predicated on the rejection of his advice. Nor is it necessary to criticize and depreciate West Point graduates or to accuse McClellan of cowardice and treason in order to exalt Kearny. In addition to a rambling, disconnected account of Kearny's career, several chapters devoted to a defense of his uncle, Stephen Watts Kearny, in the Mexican War view Scott's campaign as a "literary conquest", whereas Kearny's uncle "moved the boundaries of the United States 1800 miles westward to the Pacific". There is more of like nature, including a spirited defense of Stephen Watts Kearny in his quarrel with Stockton. The lack of organization, the quantity of material included, and the absence of identifying notes make it difficult, except by exact comparison, to determine the amount or value of the "new material" used. Kearny's letters to his wife and to Cortlandt Parker, a New Jersey lawyer and politician, are useful as presenting his attitude toward his associates and superiors. There are occasional footnotes, but usually they are general and personal; the bibliography is given by chapters and is difficult to use; the index is unique in its confusion. There is much repetitive writing, the narrative shifting back and forth in time and space. There are a number of illustrations from old portraits and prints. THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

The Learned Blacksmith: The Letters and Journals of Elihu Burritt. By MERLE CURTI. (New York, Wilson-Erickson, 1937, pp. ix, 241, $3.00.) Active in various humanitarian movements, Elihu Burritt was primarily a crusader for world peace. Professor Curti, author of three other books dealing with the peace movement, has here assembled over a hundred of Burritt's letters, interspersed with selections from his manuscript journals, and has prefaced each chapter with explanatory matter. Most of the letters are to little-known coworkers, but about a fourth of them are to Charles Sumner, about half as many to Gerrit Smith, and one or more each to Seward, Chase, Fish, and Longfellow. A blacksmith's apprentice with meager schooling, Burritt had a burning zeal for "self-culture" and a capacity for combining an astounding amount of scholarly pursuit with long hours of manual labor. Thus he won important recognition on both sides of the Atlantic—to his own surprise and embarrassment—as "the Learned Blacksmith". The years from 1846 to 1856 Burritt spent in Europe, promoting pacifist organizations and congresses and disseminating pacifist propaganda through the newspapers of various countries. His activities were prodigious, and the results were impressive, at least superficially. Ironclad pacifist pledges were obtained from scores of thousands of workers—many of them socialists, with whom Burritt was generally in sympathy—and lip service was wrung from the mouths of the mighty. But the Crimean War was fought, nevertheless. Burritt returned to America and threw himself with equal zeal into the Abolitionist crusade—with pacifist reservations. He deplored the bellicose stand of his erstwhile colleagues, and when the Civil War was over he vainly condemned all punitive measures. Despite all his disappointments he seems never to have been spiritually defeated. He declared in his later years: "We hope the day will come when the workingmen of Christendom will form one vast Trade Union, and make a universal and simultaneous *strike* against the whole war system" (p. 37). ALEX MATHEWS ARNETT.

Harriet Beecher Stowe. By CATHERINE GILBERTSON. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1937, pp. xii, 330, $3.00.) Catherine Gilbertson has written a well-rounded, well-balanced, and altogether readable biography of Harriet Beecher Stowe. Her contribution to our knowledge of one of the most interesting of American women is important. She handles a life which was highly controversial in its time with

admirable insight, wisdom, and tolerance. Her book, if it were nothing else, is a pleasant reminder that the Civil War is a forgotten *fait accompli*. In addition to Mrs. Stowe's portrait Mrs. Gilbertson gives us portraits of the entire Beecher family. Harriet Beecher Stowe herself stands forth as a lonely little girl in a crowded household; as an exceptionally well-educated young lady; as a hardy pioneer; as the partner in an unemotional marriage; as the mother of a large family; as the breadwinner for her children; as a most prolific writer who scarcely seemed to realize that she was a writer; as the amazed recipient of great fame; and always as her father's daughter, for without the springboard of her father's extraordinary life and personality Harriet Beecher Stowe would never have been catapulted into fame. Mrs. Gilbertson's comparison of Harriet Beecher Stowe and her father is a piece of shrewd and wise analysis in which Lyman Beecher often receives more praise than his daughter. The famous meeting between Lincoln and Mrs. Stowe, which might have been a glorious moment but was not, receives no touching-up at the hands of Mrs. Gilbertson. She leaves it in the realm of legend and anticlimax, which is patently where it belongs.

KATHARINE ANTHONY.

The Annexation of Russian America to the United States. By VICTOR J. FARRAR. (Washington, W. F. Roberts, 1937, pp. vii, 142, $1.00.) This brief new treatment of the Alaska Purchase, which supplements the earlier treatments of Golder and others, is based largely on copies of source documents of the Russian foreign office which were made available by the United States Department of State in 1937. It contains seven chapters, presenting successively the background (1854-61 and 1866-67), the secret opening negotiations, the Seward-Stoeckl negotiations of March, 1867, the consideration in executive session in the Senate, the transfer, the questions relating to payment, and the dominant question of motives. From the new evidence the author concludes that the preparation for the cession was largely directed and managed by Edward D. Stoeckl, who served at Washington as Russian chargé from 1854 to 1856 and as Russian minister from 1857 to 1868, and who, after he first received from Senator Gwin and Secretary Marcy a suggestion of cession (1854-56), continuously presented the question in his official dispatches to the Russian authorities until 1861. While on a visit at St. Petersburg he attended the official conferences of December, 1866, which resulted in the Russian decision to sell Alaska and to entrust him with the negotiations. After stating that the question of motive of the American purchase was befogged by the injection of diverting friendship sentiment, the author suggests that Seward's chief motive was his desire to fulfill his own prophecy of 1860 concerning American continental expansion. The general narrative, which is well supported by footnote references, is followed by the text of the treaty, an incomplete bibliography, which includes chiefly published materials, and a brief subject index.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

Frank B. Kellogg: A Biography. By DAVID BRYN-JONES. (New York, Putnam's, 1937, pp. viii, 308, $3.75.) This is a disappointing book. As literature, it badly needs cutting, squeezing, and trenchant organization. As biography, it never catches the man himself—neither his appearance and manners nor his humors and beliefs. As history, it resembles an "official" statement, for, published before Mr. Kellogg's death and making excessive use of a generally undated and uncriticized autobiographical "Kellogg Memorandum", it is eagerly laudatory and anxiously cautious. The author, of course, describes many noteworthy events. Mr. Kellogg's determined competence as a "trust buster" first made him na-

tionally prominent. As ambassador at London, his invitation brought Herriot and Stresemann together personally to discuss the Ruhr evacuation. In the negotiations for the Pact of Paris, his delay in replying to Briand's proposal of June 20, 1927, was due to his inability to consult President or Senators and to his unwillingness to make a bilateral agreement with France. At the last moment, on December 28, 1927, his sudden reply to Briand's note perhaps "forestalled" French action to "prejudice" the whole scheme. His constant publication of the correspondence succeeded in completing the mobilization of "an informed public opinion". His refusal to complicate the original "short, simple statement" made possible senatorial approval and the later wide adherence to the pact. But at many points an official interpretation must be silent. Did Mr. Kellogg's advice, for example, really mean very much to Theodore Roosevelt? How unsympathetic was Mr. Kellogg in 1922 to the social forces then at work in Minnesota? Was he fearful at first of the basic idea of a treaty for the renunciation of war, as Pearson and Brown have suggested? By how much, finally, did he fall short of the caliber of a really great man? Someday these questions can be answered more frankly. PHILIP M. BURNETT.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

A Puritan Outpost: A History of the Town and People of Northfield, Massachusetts. By HERBERT COLLINS PARSONS. (New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xiii, 546, $5.00.) The length of this thorough and comprehensive history of a New England town could probably have been cut down somewhat without impairing its value. The subject matter is good, however, and the volume well repays the effort necessary to get through it. The author traces the town's history from its beginnings as a wilderness hamlet on the frontier of interior New England in the later seventeenth century. Political and social history topics bulk large. The final chapter consists of a study of the racial composition of the inhabitants of Northfield in 1873 and a comparison with the situation obtaining in 1936. This discussion offers some provocative conclusions. Genealogists will give thanks for the very complete index of names, though historians may regret the omission of footnote references and a bibliography of materials consulted. The narrative commands confidence, however, for it is obviously founded upon diligent, careful, and prolonged investigation. The author has enjoyed the advantage, too, of a lifelong acquaintance with the traditions and the people of whom he writes. Native of Northfield though he is, Mr. Parsons approaches his task with detachment and objectivity, and his remarks are now and again seasoned with the tart humor characteristic of upcountry New England. Occasionally he "goes modern" and fabricates imaginary conversations between townsmen who have been long beneath the sod. Such excursions detract from rather than add to the excellence of his work. Northfield has been fortunate in her latest historian, and he, in turn, may congratulate himself upon the generosity and financial support of the citizens of the place who, in town meeting assembled, commissioned the writing of this reliable and informative work. Other towns of New England, take heed!

FULMER MOOD.

Guide to the History and Historic Sites of Connecticut. By FLORENCE S. MARCY CROFUT. Two volumes. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937, pp. xxvii, 461; xii, 462-973, $10.00.) These volumes, published under the auspices of the Tercentenary Commission of the State of Connecticut, represent a labor of love. The author must have spent much time and care in gathering the voluminous material relating to every town in the state. For each community information is given about the early settlement, old trails and roads, participation, if any, in the

Revolutionary War, birth places and homes of noted inhabitants, monuments and memorials, and schools and churches. In addition there is included a brief sketch of the early history of Connecticut and accounts of Washington's journeys and of the march of the French army through Connecticut. Some three hundred maps and illustrations add to the value and interest of these volumes. Persons interested in local history will find this publication particularly helpful.

NELSON P. MEAD.

The Patroon's Domain. By S. G. NISSENSON. [New York State Historical Association Series.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. ix, 416, $3.75.) This work describes "the origin, the economic background and the political development and disintegration" of the system of patroonships as exemplified in the history of Rensselaerswyck in New Netherland and New York. It was begun years ago at the suggestion of the late Professor Herbert L. Osgood, before the Albany Capitol fire of 1911 largely destroyed or damaged the Rensselaerswyck manuscripts, so that copies and data from them, now lost, are here employed. The first two chapters define the formation and functioning of the Dutch West India Company and the inauguration in 1629, under its control, of the patroon system in America. By 1634 all patroonships but that of Kiliaen van Rensselaer had been discontinued. Purchase of land, colonization, economic and political organization, and development of communal or public functions are developed in the first half of the volume, and the remainder treats of the external relations of the patroonship with the company at Amsterdam and the provincial government of New Netherland during the Dutch period and with the governors during the English regime in New York. Nissenson clarifies the forms of landholding introduced by the system in terms of English law. He makes clear the story of the conflict between the patroon and the local traders for a monopoly of the fur trade, and he explains the judicial procedure of a local court. Appendixes of documents and a catalogue of sources used exemplify the thorough workmanship of the author. This book supersedes all lesser attempts to explain the system and operation of patroonships in America. VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS.

They were in Prison: A History of the Pennsylvania Prison Society, 1787-1937, formerly The Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons. By NEGLEY K. TEETERS. Introduction by Harry Elmer Barnes, and a concluding chapter by Albert G. Fraser. (Philadelphia, George W. Wilkins, 823 Vine Street, 1937, pp. xvi, 541, $3.00.) This is an important contribution to the history of the American prison system. It is a detailed record of the activities of a remarkable group of men and women who have devoted their energies to reforming and humanizing American penal methods during the last hundred and fifty years. The significance of the work of this group of Pennsylvania reformers lies not merely in the fact that their activities were revolutionary in changing local methods of penal treatment, but that they provided an impulse that spread over the United States and extended to Europe. To escape from the barbarities of the earlier colonial penal code, they devised a system of confinement and made the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons an instrument of propaganda and education that proved effective for its purposes. The Philadelphia Society created a revolution in penal methods the effects of which are still in evidence wherever imprisonment for crime is practiced. The most important evidence of this revolutionary system, "The Eastern Penitentiary" of Philadelphia, was opened in 1829 and is still in use. Many modifications in method have been developed, and one may sense a new revolution in the air

against that produced by the reformers of a hundred and fifty years ago, but the influence of the Philadelphia Society still persists. This study has drawn largely on the many volumes of minutes of the society as well as on numerous other original materials. For the student of American social and cultural history it will long serve as a useful source book of ideas and attitudes, and for the reformer as evidence that results of continued devotion to a humble cause may be felt the world over. FRANK TANNENBAUM.

The Delaware Corporation. By RUSSELL CARPENTER LARCOM. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. vii, 199, $2.25.) This is an approach to the study of the growth of great private corporations in the United States through the study of the law of a leading incorporating state. The author is concerned primarily, to quote his own words, "with the nature of the corporation law which has resulted from a competitive policy, the conditions which have induced business men to seek new powers or privileges, and the manner in which such new powers have been granted in Delaware and their effects".

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Calhoun: His Defence of the South. By JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT. With a Foreword by Daniel Calhoun Roper. (Poughkeepsie, Printing House of Harmon, 1937, pp. 38, $1.50.) This brief essay—some 3500 words—seeks to present the real nature of Calhoun's defense of the South and the real character of the controversy

which ended in civil war and emancipation. "We now know", the author declares, "the spirit of the North and its work better than we knew it even as recently as 1928." This statement must, apparently, be connected with words at the end of the essay: with the destruction of the southern civilization, which Calhoun had tried to save, "the tyranny of unrestrained majorities was left to work its will in triumph". The results of this triumph "constitute some of the present problems of America". Calhoun's South was free from the "Dead Sea fruit of industrialism" with its welter of "bread and circuses, unemployment insurance, and other sugar-coated pills for the enslavement of the masses". It is not quite plain whether the author deplores the disappearance of slavery or does not; but the essay is in reality a brief and, in the reviewer's judgment, a correct exposition of the stand and the prophecy of Calhoun, presented ably and most conspicuously one hundred and two years ago. Possibly the reader should be reminded of the fact that the antislavery movement was not confined to America; it was not the sole possession of a few hotheaded religious Yankee enthusiasts. But if we cannot complain because of the author's omissions—he could not paint the whole picture in a few hundred words—we are justified in regretting his remark to the effect that Jefferson "conceived the pathetic absurdity that the rights of man to liberty and equality are self-evident truths". Did Jefferson give birth to the whole *naturrecht* philosophy? It was marching in full maturity generations before Jefferson was lifted from his own cradle.

A. C. McLaughlin.

The Etiquette of Race Relations in the South: A Study in Social Control. By Bertram Wilbur Doyle. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. xxv, 249, $2.50.) This is a negligible book on an interesting topic. There is very little new in it, save scraps of anecdote told out of their setting. For the rest, it turns into terminology matters better suited to critical subjective evaluation by a sensitive, experienced, and widely read person. Much of the material is in no sense "etiquette", or if it is, it is so only by some esoteric sociological interpretation of the term. The intractability of the material for the author's purposes is indicated by the frequency with which the word "perhaps" occurs. Thus, "the reunion [of slave and mistress] was occasionally marked by an embrace, *perhaps* tears" (p. 13); shaking hands "was *perhaps* not always the rule" (p. 13); pulling at the forelock "was, *perhaps*, also the accepted behavior indoors" (p. 14). The italics are the reviewer's. No historian, "scientific" after his own fashion, would make, unqualified and undocumented, such a statement as that on page 139, that "the Negro masses are, in general, not interested" in the ballot. Nor would he venture to say that "there are no racial antagonisms that cannot be overcome by scrupulous adherence to etiquette" (p. 168). Many a Negro has been lynched in spite of etiquette; and etiquette does not much avail non-Nordics in Germany today.

Paul Lewinson.

History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties, North Carolina, 1730-1936. By Clarence W. Griffin, County Historian, Rutherford County. (Forest City, privately printed, 1937, pp. xv, 640, $10.00.) Tryon was the most western county of North Carolina. It was formed just before the American Revolution and named after the colony's governor. Rutherford was the western of the two counties into which Tryon was divided during the Revolution. The name Tryon then disappeared, but Rutherford County persists to this day. The author is a newspaper editor of the region whose history he has written and a leader in local literary and civic movements. He says that he has ranged long and widely

in search of authenticated facts, leaving out tradition altogether, and presents his work "with the hope that this conglomerate mass of material will be the foundation or groundwork for something more adequate in the future". The book covers many phases of the county's history and brings the history to date. One could wish that there were less of "background" and fewer names of soldiers, postmasters, and the like; but there is less of this sort of thing than in many other similar enterprises. On the whole, genealogists and state historians will probably be grateful for the author's honest spadework. C. C. PEARSON.

The Rules of the South Carolina Society, established at Charlestown in the said Province, Sept. 1, 1737, Originally incorporated, May 1, 1751. Seventeenth Edition. (Charleston, the Society, 1937, pp. 170.) This volume contains a history of the society and other information of interest to the social historian.

Georgia's Disputed Ruins. By MARMADUKE FLOYD *et al.* Edited by E. Merton Coulter. [Georgia Society of the Colonial Dames of America.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1937, pp. xiv, 275, $3.50.) The burden of this work is to "prove" that certain tabby ruins along the Georgia coast, sometimes in recent years called Spanish missions, were of American origin. No data have been found confirming the theory of the Spanish origin of these ruins. Professor Herbert E. Bolton made no such contention. In my own work on the institutional aspects of the Spanish missions in Georgia references to Spanish ruins which could not be substantiated by the documents were studiously avoided and placed in a frankly tentative introduction with elaborate qualifications to await Mr. Floyd's findings. The location of sites has been vitiated, as Mr. Floyd believes, by the confusion with American ruins. For example, if there was a Santa María mission on the mainland and inland from Cumberland Island, the silence of the records shows that the Spanish inspectors never stopped there. Likewise, the mission called Santo Domingo de Talaje (Altamaha), usually represented as located on the mainland, sometimes carried the name of the island Asao. Moreover, Mr. Floyd's contention that the Spanish missions on the Georgia coast were generally made of wood is supported by the direct testimony of Bishop Gabriel Díaz Calderón. Governor Gonzalo Méndez Canzo ordered nails to build the celebrated church on Cumberland Island. The author does not profess to be a Hispanist, and so his Spanish documents come to his support piecemeal and at second hand. He relies upon authorities whose conclusions, except when they support his thesis, he tends to impeach. Yet despite the partial absence of deeds and records which would have clinched the argument, as well as a certain overeagerness to discount the importance of Spain on the Atlantic coast, one does not lose faith in the author's judicial temper. There is little likelihood that the main contentions of this book can be gainsaid.

JOHN TATE LANNING.

Georgia and the Federal Constitution. Prepared in the office of the Historical Adviser by JULIA M. BLAND, with a Foreword by Dr. Hunter Miller. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1937, pp. iii, 38, 10 cents.) This contains the official proceedings of the state of Georgia, so far as discovered, relative to the ratification of the Constitution and of the several amendments down to the twelfth (Georgia was one of three states that failed to ratify the first ten amendments). Appendixes embody the resolutions of Congress (1789, 1793, 1803) proposing these amendments.

Glamorous Louisiana under Ten Flags. (New Orleans, Louisiana State Museum, 1937, pp. 55.) Issued in honor of certain visiting associations in February, 1937,

this pamphlet contains illustrations and brief historical accounts of the ten flags, together with other illustrations and facts pertaining to Louisiana and to the State Museum. The ten flags are these: 1 and 3, Spain; 2 and 5, France; 4, England; 6, United States; 7, Republic of West Florida (Lone Star Flag); 8, National Flag (immediately after secession); 9, Southern Confederacy; 10, State Flag.

With the Makers of San Antonio: Genealogies of the Early Latin, Anglo-American, and German Families, with Occasional Biographies, Each Group being prefaced with a Brief Historical Sketch and Illustrations. By FREDERICK C. CHABOT. (San Antonio, privately published by the author at 403 Madison Street, 1937, pp. x, 412, $5.00.) This volume contains the genealogies of 160 families and individuals closely connected with history-making in the heart of Texas during the century and a half subsequent to the establishment of the first mission in 1690. In many instances, where availability of materials and prominence of names permitted, the genealogies run into brief biographies. The accounts are based pretty largely upon manuscript materials secured chiefly from several archival collections in Texas, Mexico, and Spain. The records of the Catholic Church were drawn upon very heavily. It is significant that the major portion of the volume (part one) is devoted to 111 Spanish-Mexican and French names. Following this major division come the portions devoted respectively to the 26 Anglo-American and the 23 German families and individuals. Prefacing each national group and interspersed here and there in addition, are brief sketches of Texas history, which attempt to give meaning to the data presented. Unfortunately, these sketches are disjointed and fragmentary and often are not based on the most recent and accurate treatises available. Many illustrations and cuts enhance the value of a piece of beautiful bookmaking. A rather full table of contents obviates the necessity of an index. LAWRENCE F. HILL.

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OLIVIA TAYLOR, ed. Letters from Old Trunks [Thomas Jefferson, T. J. Randolph, "Peggy" and Sarah Nicholas]. *Virginia Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Apr.

MARY CRAIK MORRIS, ed. Boyhood Memories of Dr. James Craik [1730-1814]. *Ibid.*

ELIZABETH G. MCPHERSON, ed. Unpublished Letters from North Carolinians to Van Buren. *North Carolina Hist. Rev.*, Jan., Apr.

JAMES A. PADGETT, ed. The Difficulties of Andrew Jackson in New Orleans, including his Later Dispute with Fulwar Skipwith, as shown by the Documents. *Louisiana Hist. Quar.*, Apr.

FRITZ L. HOFFMANN, ed. The Mesquia Diary of the Alarcon Expedition into Texas, 1718. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, Apr.

WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

Life and Times of Edward Swanson, One of the Original Pioneers who with General James Robertson founded Nashville, Tennessee, 1779: First Recorded Settler of Williamson County, Tennessee, March, 1780. By WILLIAM HENRY MCRAVEN. (Nashville, privately printed, 1937, pp. xxiii, 240, $3.00.) When James Robertson set out for the Tennessee wilderness in 1779 he was accompanied by seven men. Long after the others had been gathered to their fathers, Edward Swanson lived on, surviving to 1840. This volume, written by a descendant, purports to be his biography. It is in the main the well-known story of Robertson's experiences, told from well-known secondary accounts. Swanson never really gets into the narrative. Little is known of him other than that he migrated to Tennessee and ultimately settled in Williamson County. There would seem to be something slightly ironical in the fact that the book is sponsored by the Fort Nashborough Chapter of the D.A.R., for the zeal of these pioneers for the cause of the Revolution is open to question, inasmuch as they wandered away to seek their fortunes in the lush Cumberland country at a time when they were sorely needed to fight for the independence of the colonies. There is nothing in the narrative for serious historians, but Tennessee antiquarians and descendants of Swanson will find it of interest. THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY.

The Discovery and Exploitation of the Minnesota Iron Lands. By FREMONT P. WIRTH. (Cedar Rapids, Torch Press, 1937, pp. viii, 247, $2.50.) Was the frequency of fraud in the administration of the mineral lands of Minnesota during the latter part of the nineteenth century due to a basically weak Federal land program or to the improper enforcement of otherwise good laws? Professor Wirth undertakes to answer that question when he says that the Federal government "had no definite or consistent policy" (p. 207). He goes on to show that the earlier

and stricter laws, classifying such lands as mineral and providing for their disposal by leasing, had been abandoned before the Minnesota iron lands were opened to private exploitation. This change in policy, whether due to the pressure of speculators or not, at any rate suited them very well. Nor were they long in discovering how to circumvent even these laws, which no longer made any distinction between mineral and agricultural tracts. It is to be regretted that a study having the value of Professor Wirth's contains some weaknesses. The student will wish that the author, having undertaken to deal with the discovery of the iron ranges, had given adequate attention to the period from 1847 to 1857, when land surveyors were in reality discovering the resources of this region; also to the years from 1857 to 1872, marking the setting up of local land offices, when the basic weaknesses of the mineral land policies were being realized for the first time. The problem of the railroad land grants, especially those of the Northern Pacific, should likewise have received adequate consideration. The author has failed to cite the best brief history of the iron country, namely W. W. Folwell's *A History of Minnesota* (IV, 1-59). And, for those not able to use the Washington archives, it would have been desirable to make reference to the great mass of original land office materials in the Minnesota Historical Society's library.

VERNE E. CHATELAIN.

The Sod-House Frontier, 1854-1890: A Social History of the Northern Plains from the Creation of Kansas & Nebraska to the Admission of the Dakotas. By EVERETT DICK. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1937, pp. xviii, 550, $5.00.) Out of an amazing wealth of sources, filling sixteen pages of a closely printed bibliography and including collections of historical societies, contemporary books and pamphlets, diaries, interviews with "old settlers", newspapers, magazines, and biographies, Professor Dick has composed a fascinating tale of pioneer life on the sod-house frontier during the generation preceding the closing of the frontier and the rise of Populism. The book is purely descriptive. It is a mass of sociological data, like the Lynds' *Middletown* expanded from the limits of a midwestern city to a great regional frame, relating not only to the richest agricultural section of the country today but also to a pattern of culture embodying those traits of character and habits of life which we call typically midwestern. Professor Dick makes his reader live and move in the pioneer settlements by the rivers, along the prairie trails, and in the boom towns which sprang up on the line of the new railroads. He pays little attention to the political history of the frontier. Except for a chapter here or there on pioneer finance, the Grange, or turbulent days in county affairs, he avoids any description of institutions of government or constitutional and legislative conflicts. Nor does he attempt, like Rupert Vance, Howard Odum, Donald Davidson, Robert Warren, and other authors of the socio-political science group, to estimate the significance of regionalism for the future of democratic government in the United States. He does not even go so far as the late Professor Turner in his moderate speculations on the significance of sectionalism in our history (in his posthumous work of 1932). Professor Dick is content to show us the elements of life on the sod-house frontier, in the actual activities of the settlers, without seeking to evaluate the permanent cultural heritage of that life or to relate it to the cultures of other distinctive regions of our land.

DAVID S. MUZZEY.

Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill. By Captain W. S. NYE. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1937, pp. xviii, 441, $3.00.) Fort Sill was founded in 1869 and served for about twenty years as the headquarters of the troops who were supposed to restrain the warlike tribes that roamed the plains of the South-

west. The major task of the Indian agent was to domesticate these tribes, and while he succeeded eventually, he frequently needed the help of the army. During this period Fort Sill was never threatened by a foe more dangerous than a few thieving Indians. The combined population of the two most dangerous tribes, the Kiowa and Comanche, did not exceed three thousand. In spite of the absence of startling events and deeds of warlike proportions, the author has written an interesting narrative of raids, rainstorms, hardships, skirmishes, and rumors and some realistic descriptions of camp life at Fort Sill. A few of the Indian chiefs become well-defined personalities, and some of the officers and fort attendants emerge from anonymity. The emerging frontier and its rapid transition are sensed and to some extent described. The dwindling herds of buffalo. the drab squalor of Indian life, and the pathetic Indian helplessly facing new tasks are vividly described. The author is emphatic, however, in his criticisms of the peace policy and clearly indicates his faith in guns and ammunition. As a record of facts, this volume is interesting and reliable; as an interpretation of the clash of two civilizations, it is unsatisfying. It contains about seventy-five illustrations, a glossary of place names on the reservation, and an appendix which brings the story of the fort up to 1937. EDGAR B. WESLEY.

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R. C. Clark, ed. Experiences of a Chaplain at Fort Vancouver 1836-1838, by Herbert Beaver [reprinted from *Church of Eng. Prot. Mag.,* Mar., 1841]. *Oregon Hist. Quar.,* Mar.

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

W. S. Robertson

Artes Amerindas. By G. Bahlis. (Porto Alegre, 1937, pp. 189.) Essays on pre-Columbian art.

Religões Amerindas. By G. Bahlis. (*Ibid.,* pp. 186.) Essays on pre-Columbian religions in America.

La doctrina de Monroe y el fracaso de una conferencia panamericana en México. G. Estrada, editor. (Mexico, Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrua é hijos, 1937, pp. xvii, 98.) Number 6 in the Biblioteca histórica mexicana de obras inéditas, this book contains documents concerning an international congress convoked in 1896 by the government of Ecuador.

Report of the Delegation of the United States of America to the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, Buenos Aires, Argentina, December 1-23, 1936. [Department of State, Publication 1088, Conference Series, no. 33.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1937, pp. vi, 280, 30 cents.)

La revolución de Olarte en Papentla, 1836-1838. By J. Flores D. (Mexico, Imprenta Nacional, 1938, pp. 96.)

Santa Anna: The Story of an Enigma who once was Mexico. By Wilfrid Hardy Callcott. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1936, pp. xiv, 391, $3.00.) The career detailed in this volume is fantastic, to say the least. It could probably be approximated only in other Latin American countries and duplicated in none. There is no crime that cannot be charged against Santa Anna, no failure that he did not experience, no ambition that he did not achieve, and perhaps no cup of bitter that he was not forced to drain. The one thing he could not achieve was security. His life was like the wind. His politics, his plans, his powers changed so often that a mere record of them makes a puzzle of crosscurrents which the greatest diligence can barely decipher. The explanation of the career itself—if there be an explanation—is an assumption of delirium on the part of the Mexican people, who repeatedly permitted an unscrupulous but dashing rascal to charm them into giving him repeated power only again and again to drive him from office and send him into exile. He was permitted to return and die, a blind, neglected, and poverty-stricken old man in a world he had ruled, abused, enchanted, and betrayed. He had been elected president five times, had been dictator twice—1841-45 and 1853-55—had been exiled in 1845-46, 1848-53, 1855-64, 1864-66, and 1867-74. This is a clearly written biography, based on a large mass of original sources. The style is easy and interesting, and the life is given some inner logic. One could ask for more of the social and economic setting within which the action took place, but perhaps the organizing of so disorganized a career was job enough. The author, to dubious advantage, has permitted himself, in a minor way, to be influenced by the modernistic trend in subjective biography writing. Frank Tannenbaum.

El arte moderno en México: Breve historia, siglos XIX y XX. By J. Fernández. (Mexico, Antigua Librería Robredo, José Porrua é hijos, 1937, pp. 473.) An illustrated work on the fine arts in modern Mexico.

Raíces del 10 de Octubre de 1868, Aguilera y Cespedes. [Academia de Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, "El Siglo XX", 1937, pp. 152.) This contains an account of the role of Francisco V. Aguilera and Carlos M. Cespedes in the insurrectionary movement in Cuba in the autumn of 1868.

De Panama à Verdun. By P. Bunau-Varilla. (Paris, Plon, 1937, pp. 391, 20 fr.) Reminiscences of an engineer-diplomat who played a significant role in the Panama Revolution of 1903.

Estudios de historia colonial Venezolana. By H. García Chuecos. (Caracas, Tipografía Americana, 1937, pp. vii, 334.) This contains a series of scholarly studies, based in part on archival materials, which deal with the last decades of Spanish rule in the captaincy general of Venezuela.

Las guerras de Bolívar. Volume III, *La patria venezolana, 1817-1819.* By F. Rivas Vicuña. (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1938, pp. 321.) Volume LII in the Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, this deals with two years of the Venezuelan struggle for independence.

Como salvar a Venezuela: C. N. R. Crusada reformadora nacionalista "La Cerena". By A. Ponte. (New York, Carlos Lopez Press, n.d., pp. 339.) A survey of social and political conditions in Venezuela, of foreign interests therein, and a plea for the regeneration of the country.

A industria em face da economia nacional. By R. SIMONSEN. (São Paulo, Revista de Tribunaes, 1937, pp. 135.)

La real audiencia de Chile. By R. MUÑOZ FELIÚ. (Santiago de Chile, Escuela Tipografía La Gratitud Nacional, 1937, pp. 263.) A thesis prepared at the University of Chile which deals with an important colonial administrative institution.

Historia de correos y telégrafos de la República Argentina. By R. CASTRO ESTEVES. Volume II. (Buenos Aires, Talleres Gráficos de Correos y Telégrafos, 1938, pp. 446.) The second volume of a useful study of the post office in Argentina, this carries the story up to May, 1810. It is illustrated and equipped with a documentary appendix and a bibliography.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW INDEX

A general index to Volumes XXXI-XL, prepared under the direction of Eleanor D. Smith, assistant editor of the *Review*, will be ready for distribution in October. Further announcement will be made in our next issue. This will be the fourth ten-year index to be issued; the third is still available, but the first two are out of print.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

In pursuance of the resolution for the appointment of a committee to study and make recommendations concerning the organization and functions of the Association, adopted at the business session held on December 30 at Philadelphia (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 728), the outgoing president, Guy Stanton Ford, and the incoming president, Frederic L. Paxson, have appointed the following as members of the committee: John D. Hicks, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Carl Wittke, Oberlin College; Thomas A. Bailey, Stanford University; Frank M. Anderson, Dartmouth College; Merrill M. Jensen, University of Washington; Frank J. Klingberg, University of California at Los Angeles; James B. Hedges, Brown University; Julius W. Pratt, University of Buffalo; Bessie L. Pierce, University of Chicago; Theodore C. Blegen, University of Minnesota.

The addresses and papers on the Constitution presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association last December, to which reference was made in our April issue (XLIII, 727), will be published, under the editorship of Professor Conyers Read, by the Columbia University Press about October 1. The title of the volume will be *The Constitution Reconsidered: Its Background, its Content, and its Continuing Influence.*

At the Ninth Annual Institute for Education by Radio, which was held in Columbus, Ohio, May 2-4, the First Award for an educational program broadcast over a commercial network was given to "The Story Behind the Headlines", presented by the American Historical Association in cooperation with the National Broadcasting Company, with César Saerchinger as the commentator. The award is not a prize or anything tangible, but it is a commendation by the group which represents the leaders in education by radio in this country. It was made specifically on the basis of the first broadcast in the series, on the subject of England's foreign policy. Inasmuch as everyone, professional or otherwise, who expressed a judgment on the

series felt that it improved with each week, the Association would appear to have made a valuable contribution to education through the medium of the radio.

The following should be added to the *List of Research Projects in History, exclusive of Doctoral Dissertations,* published as a supplement to Volume XXXIX, No. 3, of the *American Historical Review:*

XVIII. United States of America

(8) Since 1782

Women's organizations in the United States from 1800 to 1848. Prog. 2 yrs. Mary S. Benson, *Lindenwood College.*

A biography of Henry J. Raymond. Prog. Francis Brown, *New York Times.*

The churches and the warfare of capital and labor in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Prog. 4 yrs. Edmund A. Moore, *Connecticut State College.*

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

A list of the errata which have thus far been discovered in the *Dictionary of American Biography* is being prepared for publication. The director of the enterprise, Dr. Harris E. Starr, 182 Cold Spring Street, New Haven, would be glad to have reported to him any errors which readers of the *Review* may have noted. Authorities should be cited for any changes suggested.

The previously announced transfer of records to the National Archives from the archives section of the Department of State has been completed. Included in this shipment are certain records from diplomatic and consular posts coming down to 1937, but, like other Department of State records transferred, they are open to the public only to August 15, 1906. Outstanding accessions from the Treasury Department are the "old loans records" dealing with loans floated from the outbreak of the Revolutionary War to 1860 and including, among other valuable items, the records kept in the thirteen original states by loan office commissioners until 1817 and subsequently by the Second Bank of the United States until 1836, and secret service records, 1863-1934, including correspondence, materials relative to apprehended criminals, and reports of agents on special investigations and on their daily operations, such as the suppression of counterfeiting and the protection of the President. Pardon records from the Department of Justice, 1853-1912, supplement and continue materials of a similar character previously received from the Department of State. Records now being transferred will make the collection from the Indian Affairs Office practically complete through 1880, with some records extending to 1907. Correspond-

ence and scientific data have been received from the Naval Observatory and Nautical Almanac Office, 1840-1911. Accessions from the Department of Agriculture include records of the former Food and Drug Inspection Board, 1907-15, and of the Wool Division of the War Industries Board, 1918-19, and the Matthew Fontaine Maury collection of logbooks of commercial ships, 1784-1870. Records from the Labor Department include materials on alien enemies and Americanization, 1914-36. Early twentieth century efforts to study the tariff scientifically are represented in records of the old Tariff Board, 1909-12, and of the former Cost of Production Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, 1915-16, received from the Tariff Commission.

The activity of the National Archives in restoring order among the records transferred to its custody is already yielding dividends in the form of the discovery of documents thought to be lost. A recent instance of this kind was the discovery of certain original treaties desired by the Department of State. When a treaty is submitted to the Senate, the signed original is usually transmitted with the presidential message. If the treaty is finally acted on by the Senate, the instrument is returned to the President, who deposits it with the Department of State. In the cases in which no final action is taken by the Senate, the treaty usually remains in the files of that body. Some years ago Dr. Hunter Miller, editor of *Treaties and Other International Acts* now being published by the Department of State, had a search made for the originals of such "unperfected" treaties in the Senate files, but five of them could not be found. These missing documents have now been discovered, usually misfiled, and photostatic copies of them have been supplied to the Department of State for the use of Dr. Miller. They are: a treaty of peace, friendship, navigation, and commerce with New Granada, signed on December 20, 1844; a convention with Mexico for the mutual surrender of criminals, signed on July 20, 1850; a convention with Belgium regulating the right of inheriting and acquiring property, signed on August 25, 1852; an additional article extending the time for the exchange of ratifications of the copyright convention of February 17, 1853, with Great Britain, signed on February 8, 1854; and a commercial convention with Johanna, one of the Comoro Islands near Madagascar, signed on October 4, 1879.

The Manuscript Division of the New York Public Library has recently acquired the correspondence of Thomas W. Williams, a general merchant of New London, 1800-35, including papers of Hazard & Williams of New York, letters relating to a claim of Ephraim Chesebrough for loss of the schooner *Fortitude,* captured by a French privateer on August 21, 1809, and letters relating to the purchase of the ship *Connecticut,* in 22 boxes. Other recent accessions are: the original typescript of the autobiography, with

pencil notations, of Lincoln Steffens, a gift of the publishers; work books, etc., of John Lord and John R. Covington, gunners of the U. S. Navy, together with letters and other papers, and watercolor drawings by Lord of Mediterranean scenes, etc., in four volumes; and a folio volume, the letter book of Captain Francis Stanfell, R.N., 1812-31, kept on board H.M. ships *Druid, Bacchante, Cossack, Phaeton,* and others, containing correspondence with the British admiralty, etc.

A Baltic historical congress, the first of its kind, met at Riga on August 15, 1937. All the Baltic states were represented. Papers read by Polish and German delegates dealt mainly with political and commercial questions; those presented by Esthonian and Lithuanian scholars dealt with cultural history. Preliminary steps were suggested for holding a second congress four years hence at Stockholm.

The annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association was held in Ottawa on May 23 and 24. In point of attendance and interest it was probably the most successful in the history of the association. The program was built around a central theme—the 1840's as a period of revolutionary changes in British North America—to which the following papers were related: The European Background of the 1840's (Edgar McInnis), The British Background of the 1840's (A. R. M. Lower), Patronage and Parliamentary Government (J. Bartlet Brebner), Intercolonial Communications, 1840-1867 (J. S. Martell), Head and Responsible Government in New Brunswick (D. G. G. Kerr), Georges Étienne Cartier in the Period of the Forties (J. I. Cooper), The Early Methodist Church and the Canadian Point of View (George W. Brown), The External Relations of the Province of Canada (George de T. Glazebrook), Canadian Border Defense Problems after 1814 to their Culmination in the Forties (A. B. Corey), and The Ashburton-Webster Boundary Settlement (J. R. Baldwin). In the absence of the Abbé Lionel Groulx, who was prevented by illness from attending, Mgr. Maurault, rector of the University of Montreal, gave an account of the abbé's historical writing, in which he commented on the relationship of French- and English-speaking Canadians. D. C. Harvey, archivist of Nova Scotia, delivered the presidential address, which was on the subject of historical writing in Nova Scotia before Confederation. It presented interesting evidence with regard to the attitudes and loyalties of Nova Scotia and was a timely contribution to the historical background of the vexed question of dominion-provincial relations. At a joint session with the Canadian Political Science Association, which was devoted to the subject of business history, papers were read by N. S. B. Gras and A. S. Morton. The papers mentioned above will be published in the annual report of the Canadian Historical Association, with the exception of Professor Gras's, which will appear in the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science.*

The thirty-first annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Indianapolis on April 28, 29, and 30. Present-day trends in government aid to historical research were discussed at two sessions by representatives of the National Archives, the Library of Congress, the National Park Service, and the Historical Records Survey. The sesquicentennial of the first authorized American settlement in the region northwest of the Ohio River (at Marietta in 1788) was recognized by a session on "Beginnings of the American Regime in the Old Northwest", at which papers dealing with the career of George Rogers Clark were presented by L. C. Helderman and Milo M. Quaife and one on "Southern Contributions to the Social Order of the Old Northwest" by John D. Barnhart. At other sessions "Problems of the South in Relation to Other Sections" were considered by Paul W. Gates, William A. Russ, jr., and Francis B. Simkins, and "Education and Reform" by R. W. Leopold, J. H. Rodabaugh, and R. S. Fletcher. At the annual dinner the presidential address by Clarence E. Carter was devoted to a careful tracing of the history of United States documentary historical publication. At a program on "Modern Political Leaders" phases of the careers of Theodore Roosevelt, Thomas R. Marshall, and John P. Altgeld were discussed by G. E. Mowry, C. E. Thomas, and Harvey Wish, respectively. Another session was devoted to "Western Folkways and Speech", with papers by C. H. Norby and R. L. Power. A program on various aspects of Anglo-American diplomacy was offered by M. P. Claussen, C. M. Gates, and T. P. Martin. At a delightful evening session E. S. Osgood presented a study of a western mining camp, and Carl Wittke gave a humorous but scholarly portrayal of the Irish in nineteenth century America. One joint session was held with the American Society of Church History, and there was the usual Teachers' Section Meeting. William O. Lynch of Indiana University was elected president for 1938-39.

The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society held its annual meeting at the Ohio State Museum, Columbus, on April 1-2 in co-operation with the Ohio Academy of History. Both organizations favored proceeding on similar lines next year and inviting other organizations and agencies to join in a state-wide Ohio history conference. A full report of the meeting will be published in the July issue of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society's *Quarterly*.

The forty-first annual meeting of the Texas State Historical Association was held at Austin on April 22 and 23. Among the papers presented were "Routes of the Coronado Expeditions" by Robert T. Hill, "Administration of the Confederate Sequestration Act" by Thomas Robert Havins, and "James Long at La Bahía" by Charles W. Ramsdell, jr.

Professor Previté-Orton, who for many years has edited the *English Historical Review* with distinction, has been compelled by a grave threat to his

eyesight to retire. The review now appears under the editorship of G. N. Clark, a former editor, and J. G. Edwards.

Last March the Old Dublin Society began the publication of a new quarterly, the *Dublin Historical Record,* the first journal to be devoted to the history and antiquities of Dublin. It is to contain historical papers read at the meetings of the society and also shorter notes contributed by readers. Communications regarding subscriptions should be addressed to Patrick Meehan, honorary secretary, Old Dublin Society, 105 Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.

The purpose of the *Victoria Library Bulletin,* issued by the Library Board of Victoria University, Toronto, is to make more generally known the resources of the library, especially its important documentary collections. It should be of particular service to research students in Canadian history. The *Bulletin,* the first number of which was published in June, 1937, is to be issued two or three times a year. Copies may be had on application to the librarian of Victoria University, Dr. F. L. Barber.

The first issue of a new historical quarterly, *Nederlandsche Historiebladen,* has come to our desk from the Low Countries. It is a joint publication of Flemish (*i.e.,* Dutch-speaking Belgian) and Hollandish historians. Their aim is to create a common interest in Dutch and Flemish historical problems and to view the life and culture of the Flemish and Hollandish sections of the Low Countries as an integral whole, for in spite of political boundaries that separate the two, their cultural unity persists and deserves to be studied and appraised. South Africa, where nearly 60 per cent of the white population speak a Dutch language, will also be included in this quarterly survey, which will stress the cultural unity that binds the politically severed parts of the Dutch race. In this first issue J. S. Bartstra discusses the aim and the scope of historiography, H. van Werveke refutes Des Marez's theory concerning the colonization of Belgium by the Franks in the fifth and sixth centuries, O. de Smedt writes on English trade relations with Antwerp *ca.* 1565, P. J. van Winter on the Netherlanders in South Africa, R. van Roosbroeck on Antwerp's rebellion against its bishop in 1562, F. Vermeulen on architectural plans for a castle at Rijswijk built for Prince Frederik Hendrik, and P. J. Geyl reviews recent biographies of Coen, De Ruyter, and Oldenbarnevelt. If the editors prove able to maintain the high standard of this first installment, *Nederlandsche Historiebladen* will be a valuable addition to the periodical literature on Netherland history. It is published by De Sikkal in Antwerp.

The Danish Society for Ancient and Medieval Studies has begun the publication of a new periodical, *Classica et Mediaevalia: Revue danoise de philologie et d'histoire,* to be devoted to the traditions of classical antiquity

which influenced the intellectual life of medieval Europe, Byzantine as well as Western. The editor-in-chief, William Norvin, gives a survey of the field in the opening number, which contains, in addition, the following articles: "Zur Definition der römischen Nobilität in der Zeit Ciceros", "Studies to Visiones Georgii", and "Les clichés épistolaires dans les lettres sur papyrus grecques". Contributions will appear in English, French, and German. There will be two issues each year; the subscription price is 18 Danish *kroner* (Gyldendalske Boghandel, Copenhagen).

Istoricheskiye zapiski [historical memoirs] is a new historical quarterly, published in Moscow, devoted to Russian as well as general history. It is published by the Institute of History attached to the Academy of Sciences. The first volume appeared in 1937.

Essays in competition for the Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society for 1938-39 should be sent to the secretary of the society, 96 Cheyne Walk, London, S. W. 10, by February 28, 1939. The prize for 1937-38 has been awarded to H. E. I. Phillips for his essay, "The Court of Star Chamber, 1630-41".

Professor F. Braesch's critical edition of the first part of Hébert's famous journal, *Père Duchesne*, published under the auspices of the Société d'histoire de la Révolution française, has been completed and is on sale at the Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 22 rue Soufflot, Paris. The price of the volume is 120 francs. This important scholarly enterprise was begun sixteen years ago at the suggestion of Aulard.

In the interest of promoting better understanding among the countries of Northern Europe, groups of historians in the several Scandinavian countries have been working for some time to secure a revision of the text-books used in the schools. Concrete results are now being realized, but the endeavor has involved much labor. How this work has been done is told at some length in *Nordens Läroböcker i Historia* (Helsingfors, 1937).

The small number of articles in Chinese scholarly journals listed in the Far Eastern History section in our recent issues is due to the undeclared war which Japan has been waging in China since July 7, 1937. The majority of Chinese scholarly and technical journals have been forced to suspend publication for an indefinite period. Reports indicate that no less than thirty of the leading higher educational institutions of China have been partially or completely destroyed by the Japanese. That the Japanese army has adopted a policy of deliberate destruction of a number of these is evidenced by the fact that institutions under partial foreign control in the same places and often in the same neighborhoods have been spared. Military necessity hardly justifies the destruction, for example, of a portion of Hunan Univer-

sity at Changsha, 600 odd miles inland and 400 miles from the nearest scene of actual combat. The $5,000,000 Hunan Provincial Library in the same city was completely destroyed by Japanese air bombers. It is to the credit of the Chinese government that it is striving to keep a nucleus of the faculties and students of these destroyed institutions intact and is financing them so that they can carry on their work at remote and safe places in the interior. It is also discouraging students from entering the ranks, aware of its need for them in the years of reconstruction that lie ahead.

Historianas and others who have occasion to use files of newspapers have long been aware of the need for an index. This deficiency is now in the process of being remedied for an important portion of the nation's press. Under the direction of H. K. Seltzer, director of District 3, Chicago, Works Progress Administration, approximately three hundred qualified persons are engaged in preparing an index of the Chicago metropolitan press from 1833 to the present. The best Chicago newspaper available for each period has been selected for indexing, and the completed work will fill more than one hundred volumes. This project is under the guidance of a committee of which Carl Roden, librarian of the Chicago Public Library, is chairman.

A graduate conference on Renaissance studies is being conducted this summer at the University of Michigan. In addition to courses in history and political science, it includes courses in Latin, English literature, German, Romance languages, fine arts, mathematics, philosophy, and education. The program includes in addition to formal classroom work a special series of lectures by members of the faculty and scholars outside the university, luncheon talks, visits to collections of Renaissance art in Detroit and Toledo, and other activities.

A permanent exhibit of the History of the Recorded Word was opened by the *New York Times* on April 22. The exhibit is so arranged as to illustrate man's progress during the last 5000 years in recording events and ideas. It will be open to the public from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. every Monday to Friday inclusive. Appointments to visit it must be made through the personnel department of the *New York Times*.

PERSONAL

Dr. Charles Henry Lincoln died at Worcester on January 31. Born on April 22, 1869, at Millbury, Mass., he was educated at the Millbury High School, Worcester Academy, Harvard University (A. B. 1893, A. M. 1894), and the University of Pennsylvania (Ph. D., 1896). At the last-named institution, where he was senior fellow in politics and history from 1896 to 1899, he prepared his first and most significant work, *The Revolutionary Movement in Pennsylvania, 1760-1776*, published in 1901. From 1899 until

1906 Dr. Lincoln was on the staff of the Library of Congress and was for a time in charge of manuscripts. Here he prepared his *Calendar of John Paul Jones Manuscripts* (1903) and *Naval Records of the American Revolution* (1906). In 1907 he went to the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester to supervise the arrangement and publication of its manuscripts. The chief fruits of this connection are found in *A Calendar of the Manuscripts of Sir William Johnson* (1907), *A Calendar of the Manuscripts of Col. John Bradstreet* (1908), *Manuscript Records of the French and Indian War* (1909), *Journal of Sir William Pepperrell kept during the Expedition against Louisbourg* (1910), and *The Hull-Eaton Correspondence during the Expedition against Tripoli* (1911). In 1912 Dr. Lincoln edited the *Correspondence of William Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts and Military Commander in America,* which was published under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America; and in 1913 he contributed to Dr. Jameson's Original Narratives, *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675-1699.* In 1916-17 he worked on the historical manuscripts at the University of Illinois, and since the World War he had been with the Worcester Historical Society.

Maurits Sabbe, director of the Plantijn Museum in Antwerp and the author of many books on Flemish cultural history, died on February 12 at the age of sixty-five.

On March 6 Sir Reginald Fleming Johnston, until last year professor of Chinese at the University of London and head of the department of languages and cultures of the Far East at the School of Oriental Languages, London, died in Edinburgh at the age of sixty-four. He was educated at Edinburgh University and at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was graduated with honors in history in 1898. In the same year he was appointed to the British civil service at Hong Kong, where he began a notable administrative career in China. In 1919 he was detached from the civil service, by agreement of the London and Peking governments, to serve as English tutor to the thirteen-year-old Manchu emperor in Peking but returned to it in 1925, following the young emperor's exile to Tientsin. He was British commissioner of Weihaiwei when that territory was returned to Chinese control in 1930. Thereupon he left China to assume professorial duties at London. Sir Reginald traveled throughout the Far East, was a noted Buddhist scholar, and enjoyed an acquaintance with a large circle of distinguished personages in both China and Japan. He was a member of many societies and the author of numerous works, including *Buddhist China, Letters to a Missionary, The Chinese Drama,* and *Confucianism and Modern China.*

Gilbert Slater, who died on March 8 at the age of seventy-three, was graduated from St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1885 and in 1905 was the

first student on whom the London D.Sc. (Econ.) degree was conferred. His thesis, subsequently published under the title *The English Peasantry and the Enclosure of Common Fields,* revealed his sympathy with the working classes and antipathy towards class legislation and privileges, which were also shown by the part which he played throughout his life in labor, cooperative, educational, and other social movements. In 1905 he became the first Labor mayor of Woolwich and during the next few years gave various courses of university extension lectures on administrative and historical subjects. In 1909 he was appointed principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, a position which he held until 1915. During this period he pursued his historical studies and wrote his *Making of Modern England* (1913), which was later rewritten under the title *The Growth of Modern England* (1932). These works secured a large public and met a growing need for the treatment along broad sociological lines of developments too often treated sectionally as either political or economic specialisms. In 1915 he accepted the newly created chair of economics in Madras and began his study of Indian social and economic problems. While in Madras he did pioneer work in the sphere of village surveys, which are now being undertaken all over the country. He inspired and edited *Some South Indian Villages* (1917) and after his return to England wrote his stimulating, though unorthodox *The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture* (1923) and *Southern India* (1930). At the invitation of the Madras government he gave up his university post in 1921 to become publicity officer and a member of the Madras legislative council. In 1923 he returned to England, where he lectured for seven years on Indian economics at the London School of Economics and to Indian civil service students at Oxford, where he resided. In addition to the works already mentioned he published during this period *Poverty and the State* (1930), *Seven Shakespeares* (1931), a social and industrial history of Kent, in the Victoria County Histories, and a chapter on poor relief in *A Century of Municipal Progress* (1935). Latterly his interests were concentrated more and more upon the need for international understanding and appeasement. Dr. Slater will long be remembered as a historian, a broadminded student of social affairs, and a teacher. Above all he was a man of outstanding integrity, who spared no pains in probing to the heart of a problem and refused to mince matters in order to please.

The Reverend Frank Stanton Burns Gavin, professor of ecclesiastical history in General Theological Seminary, New York, died on March 20. He was born in Cincinnati on October 31, 1890, and graduated from the University of Cincinnati in 1912. While yet an undergraduate, his interest in Hebraics, which was to make him one of the leading authorities in that field, led him to study at Hebrew Union College, from which he received the degree of B.H.L. in 1918. In 1913-14 he was university fellow in Semi-

tics at Columbia University. In 1915 he received the degrees of M.A. from Columbia and of S.T.B. from General Theological Seminary. In 1917 and 1919 he received the degrees of S.T.M. and Th.D. from Harvard; in 1919-20 he served as warden of the collegiate department and from 1921 to 1923 as professor of New Testament in Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wisconsin. In 1923 he received the degree of Ph.D. from Columbia and was called to the chair of ecclesiastical history in General Theological Seminary. In the same year he published *Aphraates and the Jews, The Ideas of the Old Testament,* and *Some Aspects of Contemporary Greek Orthodox Thought.* These were followed by *The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments* in 1928, *The Catholic Doctrine of Work and Play* and *The Catholic Idea of the Eucharist in the First Four Centuries* in 1930, and *Selfhood and Sacrifice* in 1932. In 1934 he edited a volume of essays entitled *Liberal Catholicism in the Modern World.*

On March 24 Paul Leland Haworth, professor of history and political science in Butler University, died at his home near Indianapolis. Born at West Newton, Indiana, on August 28, 1876, he received the degree of A.B. at Indiana University in 1899 and A.M. in 1901. Entering Columbia University as a fellow in history in 1903, he received the doctorate three years later. He was a tutor in Teachers College (1904-1906) and lecturer in Columbia College (1906-1907). During his first year as a student in Columbia this *Review* published (IX, 460-478) his "Frederick the Great and the American Revolution". His doctoral dissertation, published in 1906 under the title of *The Hayes-Tilden Disputed Presidential Election of 1876,* though not free from bias, remains the most complete study of that political crisis. He taught but little thereafter—one year at Bryn Mawr (1910-1911) and one at Indiana University (1918-1919)—before going to Butler in 1922. Meanwhile he had developed extensive orchards, made two explorations of a remote section of the Canadian Rockies, in 1916 and 1919, tried excursions into state politics as a Progressive candidate for the legislature in 1912 and as a member of the state house of representatives, 1921-1922, and had done considerable writing. His better known historical works are: *George Washington, Farmer,* 1915 (republished in 1925 as *George Washington, Country Gentlemen*); *The United States in our Own Time,* 1920; and *Trail Makers of the Northwest,* 1921. His writings are notable for their lucid, lively, and attractive style.

George Gordon Andrews, professor of European history at the University of Iowa, died on March 29 in his fifty-first year. Born in Illinois, he took his undergraduate work at Union College, Lincoln, Nebraska. He pursued graduate work at the University of Nebraska, Harvard, and Cornell, where he took the Ph.D. in 1921. Having taught at Union College, the Teachers College at Kirksville, Missouri, the University of Nebraska, and

the University of South Dakota, he came to Iowa in 1927. His special field of creative scholarship was the era of the French Revolution and Napoleon. In this field he contributed articles to the *American Historical Review,* the *Modern Review,* and other learned journals. His essay entitled "Early Revolutionary Newspapers" appears in the volume *Persecution and Liberty* in honor of George Lincoln Burr. At the time of his death Dr. Andrews had ready for the press a volume of essays on the Napoleonic era. He built up at the University of Iowa one of the superior collections in this country of journals, pamphlets, and newspapers of the French Revolutionary period. He had a deep faith in the importance of competent teaching and won the devotion and respect of his students, both graduate and undergraduate. His addresses and published papers on study plans, the use of sources, and collateral work attest to his interest in the problems of effective instruction. His loyalty and sound judgment commanded the high regard of his colleagues.

The field of English church history has suffered the loss of Walter Howard Frere, formerly bishop of Truro (Cornwall), who died on April 2 at the age of seventy-four. Dr. Frere's works were mainly concerned with liturgical subjects and with the English church in the sixteenth century. He contributed the volume on the period 1558-1625 to the Stephens and Hunt *History of the English Church* and was joint author of the standard history of the Book of Common Prayer. He also edited several volumes of source material having to do with the Puritan controversy and with episcopal administration in the reign of Elizabeth. He was associated with the Community of the Resurrection from the time of its organization in 1892 and was for twenty years superior of the order. Though personally a strong high churchman, as a historian he was scrupulously fair in his treatment of other attitudes, and his editorial work constitutes a model of thoroughness and accuracy.

Sir Henry Newbolt, author of popular historical books and poems, died on April 19 at the age of seventy-five. Educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he practiced law from 1887 to 1899. From 1900 to 1904 he was editor of the *Monthly Review. The Year of Trafalgar,* published in 1905, gave him a reputation as a naval historian. In 1920 he published *A Naval History of the War, 1914-1918,* and in 1923 he was appointed official naval historian, succeeding Sir Julian Corbett in that position.

Marcus Lee Hansen, professor of history at the University of Illinois, who died at Redlands, California, on May 11 in his forty-sixth year, was born at Neenah, Wisconsin, on December 8, 1892, and educated at Central College, Iowa, and at the University of Iowa, where he graduated in 1906. In 1917 he received the M. A. degree from the University of Iowa. Soon afterward he entered the graduate school of Harvard University, which he

left to serve in the army at Camp Taylor, Kentucky. He received the Ph. D. from Harvard in 1924. Meantime he had been appointed assistant professor of history at Smith College. In 1928, after studying in Europe on stipends from the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, he was made associate professor of history at the University of Illinois, and two years later he was promoted to a full professorship. His chief fields of interest were immigration to the United States and population groups in American history. In 1935 Dr. Hansen gave a notable series of eight public lectures at the University of London on "The Influence of Nineteenth Century Immigration on American History". The author of several scholarly studies of immigration, he had almost finished a volume concerning relations between the United States and Canada. He was also at work on an extensive treatise on immigration to the United States. Dr. Hansen will be remembered for his painstaking scholarship, his sincere interest in students, and his ability to transform the so-called dry bones of history into living realities.

The death of Ian Colvin, journalist and historian, occurred in London on May 11. He was born in Inverness in 1887 and graduated from the University of Edinburgh. He was a journalist by vocation and a historian by avocation. His journalistic experience was world-wide—in England, in India, in South Africa, and again in England, where, since 1909 he was the brilliant if dogmatic leader-writer for the *Morning Post*. Colvin wrote essays, poetry, and biographies. Well known among the latter are his *Life of Jameson* (1922), his *Life of General Dyer* (1929), and the second and third volumes of the *Life of Lord Carson* (1934, 1936), the first volume of this biography being the work of the late Edward Marjoribanks. Mr. Colvin's vigorous and lucid writing was marred somewhat, from the historical point of view, by his high-tory sentiment.

Jay Barrett Botsford, associate professor of history at Brown University, died in Providence on June 1 in the forty-fifth year of his age. Having received his A. B., A. M., and Ph. D. at Columbia, where his father, the late George W. Botsford, was for many years professor of ancient history, he taught for two years in Columbia College. In 1920 he went to Brown as instructor and became assistant professor and associate professor in 1924 and 1930, respectively. He was the author of *A Brief History of the World* (1917), written in collaboration with his father, and *English Society in the Eighteenth Century* (1924) and the editor of *Basic Trends,* a three-volume work published in 1936, to which he contributed many chapters. Professor Botsford was one of the most popular members of the Brown faculty.

Ten Guggenheim fellowships have been awarded to the following: O. Fritiof Ander, Augustana College, Sweden since 1815; Richard Palmer

Blackmur, Boston, a critical interpretation of the life and works of Henry Adams (renewal); Foster Rhea Dulles, Fairfield, the development of recreational activities in America from the colonial period until modern times; Jacob Hammer, Hunter College, a definitive text of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (renewal); William Alexander Jackson, Carl H. Pforzheimer Library, English printing, especially from 1603 to 1640; Leland Hamilton Jenks, Wellesley College, migration of British capital from 1875 to 1914 (renewal); Samuel Noah Kramer, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Sumerian culture (renewal); Allen Walker Read, University of Chicago, compilation of a historical dictionary of Briticisms; Faith Thompson, University of Minnesota, studies in English constitutional history, especially Magna Carta; Walter Prescott Webb, University of Texas, a comparative study of the relation between democracy and an open frontier.

The Social Science Research Council has awarded the following grants-in-aid in the historical field: Max Ascoli, New School for Social Research, the structure of English and French political parties and their influence on administration; James A. Barnes, Temple University, the farmer in revolt; David K. Bjork, University of California at Los Angeles, activities of the Hanseatic League, 1350-1425; Harold C. Deutsch, University of Minnesota, Europe in the period of the World War; Everett Newfon Dick, Union College, social history of the Northern Plains; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University, disposal of the public domain; John G. Gazley, Dartmouth College, biography of Arthur Young; Donald Malcolm Greer, emigration during the French Revolution; Clyde Leclare Grose, Northwestern University, bibliography of British history, 1660-1760; W. K. Jordan, Scripps College, development of religious toleration in England; Michael Kraus, College of the City of New York, the relations between Europe and America in the 18th century; Frederic Chapin Lane, Johns Hopkins University, Venetian business history particularly in the 15th century; Donald Le Crone McMurry, Russell Sage College, the Pullman strike of 1894; Philip E. Mosely, Cornell University, the patriarchal family among the Balkan peoples; Frank Lawrence Owsley, Vanderbilt University, the social structure of the old South, 1840-60; Josiah Cox Russell, University of North Carolina, length of life and other related demographic phenomena in medieval England; Max Savelle, Stanford University, European diplomacy with regard to America, 1713-63; Franklin D. Scott, Northwestern University, the Norwegian settlement of 1814. Southern grants-in-aid are: Howard K. Beale, University of North Carolina, life of Theodore Roosevelt (renewal); Richmond Croom Beatty, Vanderbilt University, biography of T. B. Macaulay; Luther Porter Jackson, Virginia State College, slavery in urban Virginia; Benjamin U. Ratchford, Duke University, debts of the American states; Fritz L. Redlich, Mercer University, American business leaders. A post-

doctoral fellowship was awarded to Roger Wallace Shugg, Princeton University, for study of English economic history and the social consequences of industrialization. The pre-doctoral fellowships are: William Koren, jr., Harvard University, French imperialism especially in the period 1830-48; Nathan Albert Pelcovits, Columbia University, activities of business houses and government agencies in London in relation to the formation of a commercial policy toward China after 1850.

The following appointments are noted: *Brown University,* Carl Bridenbaugh of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as associate professor; *Beloit College,* Louis Taylor Merrill of the American University as assistant professor; *University of California* (Berkeley), Lawrence Kinnaird as assistant professor, appointed in August, 1937; *University of California at Los Angeles,* Godfrey Davies, who remains on the staff of the Huntington Library, reappointed as lecturer; *Carleton College,* Nelson Vance Russell of the National Archives as professor and head of the department of history and political science; *Columbia University,* Solon J. Buck, who remains on the staff of the National Archives, as visiting professor to give a course on archives and historical manuscripts, and Thomas H. Thomas as visiting lecturer; *Davidson College,* J. A. McGeachy as associate professor; *Duke University,* Thomas E. LaFargue as visiting assistant professor for the first semester, Joseph C. Robert of the Ohio State University and Bayrd Still of the Wisconsin State Teachers College as assistant professors; *Harvard University,* Vincent M. Scramuzza, who remains on the staff of Smith College, to give a seminar in Roman constitutional history; *MacMurray College,* Florence Edler de Roover as associate professor; *University of Michigan,* Palmer A. Throop of Western Reserve University as assistant professor in place of Professor Earle W. Dow, retired; *University of Pennsylvania,* Richard H. Shryock of Duke University as professor; *University of Wisconsin,* Charles F. Edson of Harvard University as acting assistant professor.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *Allegheny College,* Paul H. Giddens to be professor and head of the department; *Bradley Polytechnic Institute,* Chester Sipple to be head of the department; *Clark University,* Dwight E. Lee and H. Donaldson Jordan to be professors; *University of Colorado,* Percy Stanley Fritz to be assistant professor; *Columbia University,* Carlton J. H. Hayes to be executive officer of the department for a term of three years, Frederick Barry and Geroid Tanquary Robinson to be professors, Jacques Barzun to be assistant professor in Columbia College, Maude A. Huttman to be associate professor in Barnard College, Erling M. Hunt to be professor and head of the department of the teaching of social science in Teachers College; *George Washington University,* H. M. Merriman to be assistant professor; *University of Illinois,* Edgar L. Erickson to be assistant

professor; *Massachusetts Institute of Technology,* Howard R. Bartlett to be associate professor and acting head of the department; *University of Nebraska,* Glenn W. Gray to be associate professor; *New York University,* Geoffrey Bruun to be associate professor and Oscar J. Falnes to be assistant professor; *Northwestern University,* Franklin D. Scott and Tracy E. Strevey to be associate professors; *Oberlin College,* Frederick B. Artz to be head of the department; *University of Pittsburgh,* John J. Geise to be associate professor; *Princeton University,* Roger W. Shugg to be assistant professor; *Queen's University,* Gerald S. Graham to be assistant professor; *Vassar College,* Charles Griffin to be assistant professor; *University of Virginia,* Cary Johnson to be professor and administrative officer of the department, Thomas Perkins Abernethy to be Richmond Alumni Professor, Oron James Hale to be associate professor; *Wesleyan University,* Alexander Thomson to be associate professor; *Yale University,* Leonard W. Labaree to be associate professor and Lewis P. Curtis to be assistant professor.

The following retirements are noted: *University of Virginia,* Richard Heath Dabney, who has been a member of the history department since 1889; *Williams College,* Theodore Clarke Smith, who came to Williams in 1903 as J. Leland Miller Professor of American History, Literature, and Eloquence and since 1931 has been Woodrow Wilson Professor of American History and Government; *University of Wisconsin,* Alexander A. Vasiliev, who became emeritus professor of ancient history in June.

The following leaves of absence are noted: *Brown University,* Chester H. Kirby for the first semester and Sinclair W. Armstrong for the second; *University of Washington,* Edward McMahon, executive officer of the department, for the year, to carry on research in the Library of Congress (C. Eden Quainton, associate professor, will be acting executive officer during Professor McMahon's absence, and Assistant Professor Harold W. Bradley of Stanford University will teach American history during Professor McMahon's leave); *University of Wisconsin,* Paul Knaplund for the first semester (Professor John D. Hicks will take his place as chairman of the department for the academic year).

To the list of visiting professors for the current summer sessions given in our last issue (p. 755) should be added the following: *University of Montana,* Charles Mowat; *West Virginia University,* Joseph R. Strayer for the first half, Arthur T. Volwiler and Harry Williams for the second half.

Announcement has been made by the National Archives of the appointment of Herman R. Friis, formerly assistant professor of geography and geology at the Southern Illinois State Normal University, as assistant map curator in the Division of Maps and Charts, and of F. Hardee Allen as a classifier in the Division of Classification.

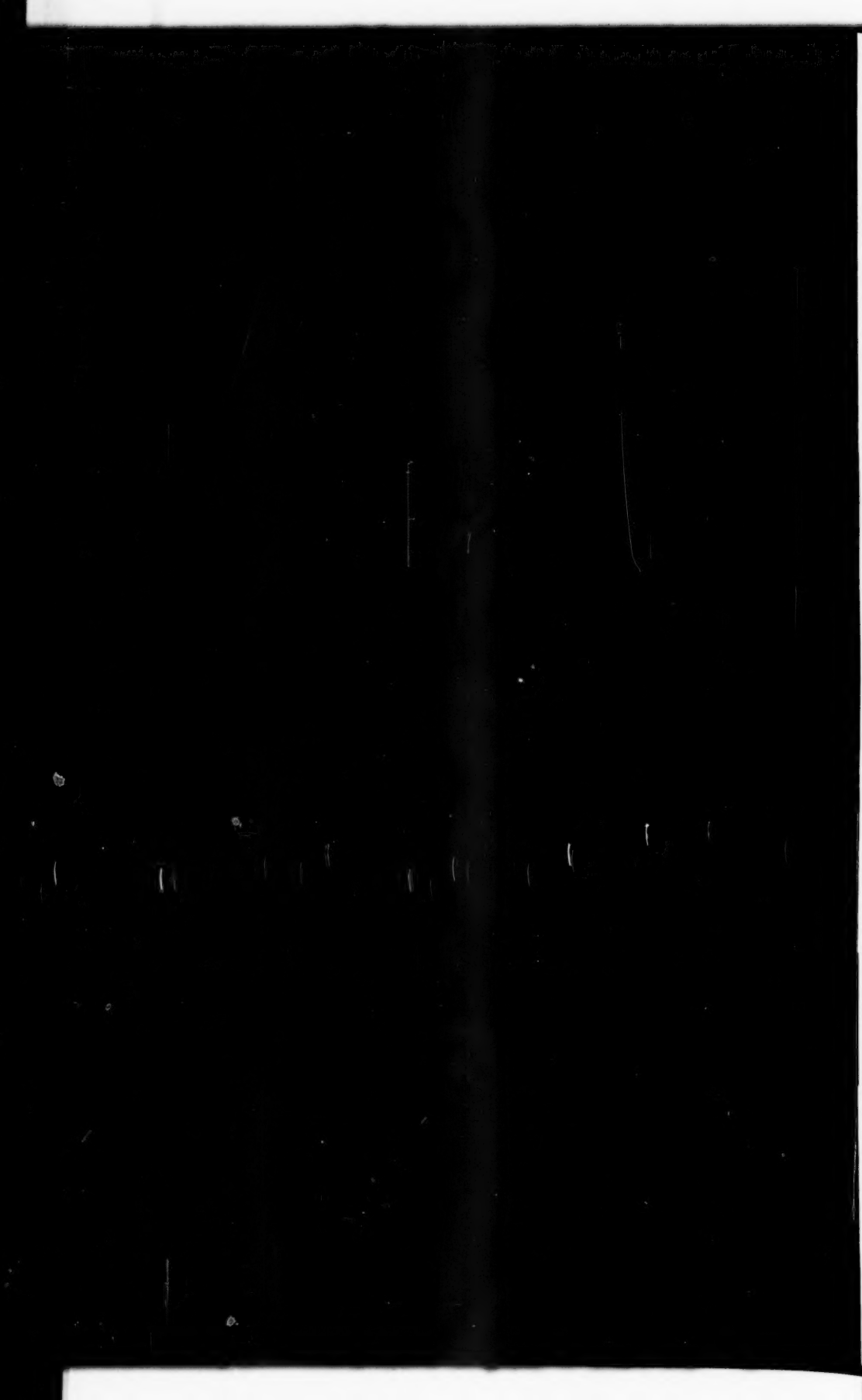
Guy Stanton Ford, president of the American Historical Association last year and acting president of the University of Minnesota, was honored at a dinner given on his birthday, May 9, by the social science faculties of the university in recognition of his twenty-five years of service as dean of its graduate school. Each guest received, with the compliments of the University of Minnesota Press, a copy of a brochure, "Celebrating Twenty-Five Years of Leadership in Higher Education by Guy Stanton Ford", containing an appreciation of Dean Ford by Charles A. Beard.

On May 16 a testimonial dinner was given to Dr. O. G. Libby in recognition of his thirty-six years of service at the University of North Dakota. Two hundred friends, colleagues, and former students paid tribute to Dr. Libby as a teacher and historical scholar and to his contribution in the creation and development of the North Dakota State Historical Society.

M. G. Lefebvre, president of the Société des études robespierristes, director of the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française,* and the author of several important books on the history of the French Revolution, has succeeded Professor Philippe Sagnac in the chair of Histoire de la Révolution française at the Sorbonne. Professor Sagnac retired in November, 1937.

Owen Lattimore, editor of *Pacific Affairs* and well known as a writer on Far Eastern subjects, has been appointed as lecturer in the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University. He will begin his duties there next fall, continuing his own investigations and directing research in Far Eastern affairs.

Dr. James F. Kenney of the Public Archives of Canada has been appointed a member of the National Battlefields Commission of Canada to fill the vacancy created by the death of Sir Arthur Doughty. This commission has charge of the national battlefield sites at Quebec.



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Subscriptions should be sent to The Macmillan Company, 8 North Sixth Street, Richmond, Virginia, or 60 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The price of subscription is $5.00 a year; single numbers are sold for $1.50 (back numbers at the same rate); bound volumes may be obtained for $7.50.

Correspondence in regard to contributions to THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW *should be sent to the Managing Editor, Robert Livingston Schuyler, 535 West 114th Street, New York City. Books for review should be sent to the same address.*

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Entered as second-class matter January 16, 1932, at the Post-office at Richmond, Va., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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